

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

CONTENTS FOR JULY, 1923

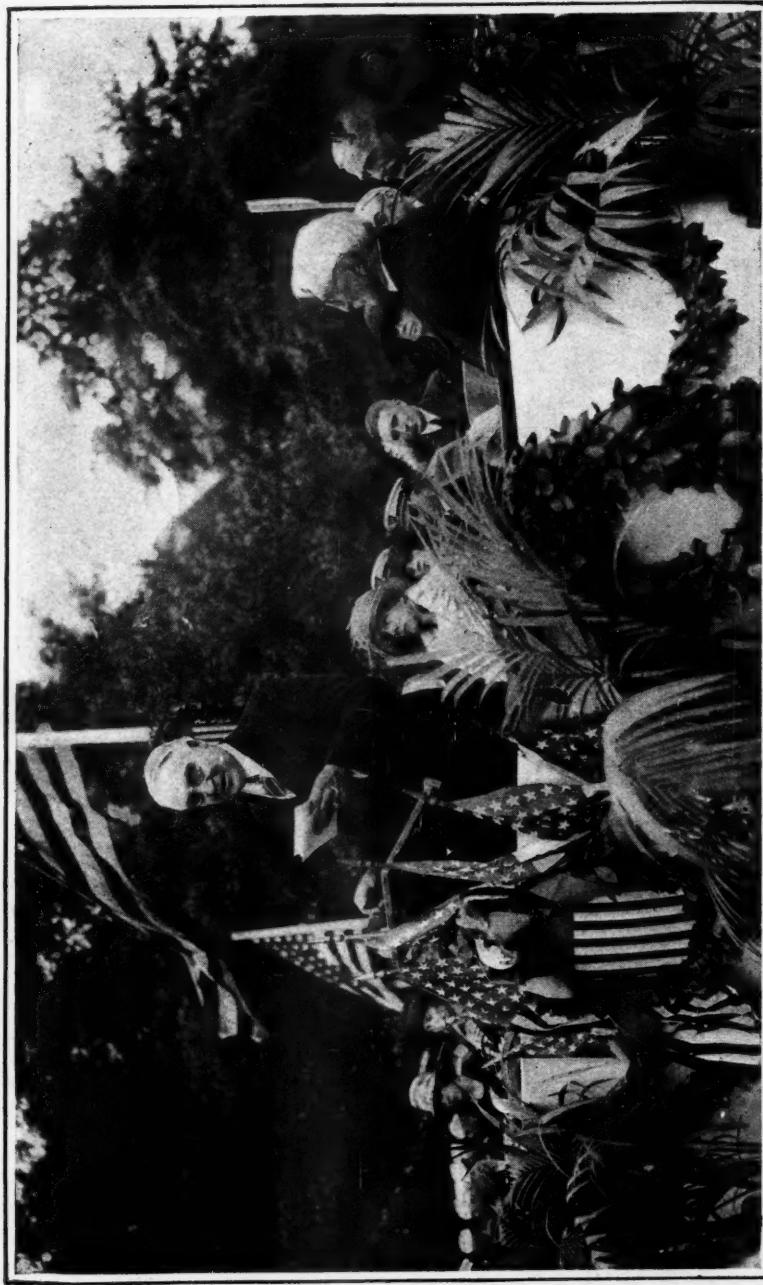
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PRESIDENT HARDING, AT THE BEGINNING OF A LONG PERIOD OF SPEECH-MAKING

(The occasion pictured here was the dedication of a statue of Alexander Hamilton, at the Treasury Building in Washington in May; and it is suggestive of what may be seen during the next two months in many sections, from Alaska to Panama, during the President's summer journey.)

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

VOL. LXVIII

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No. 1

THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*Completing
a Decade* Each recurring midsummer brings freshly to mind the world crisis of 1914 and the outbreak of the Great War. We are about to begin the tenth year of international struggle toward a non-military basis, and toward a reconstruction of the world on plans in harmony with political democracy and the modern trends of economic and social progress. While the armistice of 1918 and its accompanying events marked a profound transition, they did not secure the results for which an appalling price had been paid. Peace agreements, to be genuine, must be ratified in good faith and good will. Otherwise they are but a temporary device, and mean nothing but a pause for the gathering of strength to renew the clash of arms. Thus far it may be said that we have had the benefit of a continuance for almost four years of certain parts of the armistice arrangement, though we are still living in a world that has not dared to relinquish militarism either in principle or in practice. Since 1918, there have been several wars of such proportions that history will call them "minor" only in comparison with the unprecedented magnitude of the struggle that was suspended in November, 1918.

*Future War
Will Use New
Instruments* The Great War involved national resources of every kind as well as the movements of armies. How colossal was America's industrial mobilization has now been shown in a notable book by Mr. Grosvenor Clarkson, formerly director of the Council of National Defense, entitled, "Industrial America in the World War." Germany alone, ten years ago, had understood—in a way that shaped economic developments

—what a war would mean in terms of national effort. It took us about a year after we had gone into the war in the spring of 1917 to get into the full swing of munition-making and shipbuilding, with our railroads, farms, and general resources all mobilized for war service. If Germany had held her fighting lines until the summer of 1919, our preparation as regards aircraft, ships, munitions, deadly gases, and all the new phases of the war that represented national power in an age of chemistry and electricity, would have been overwhelming. If another great war should occur, it would be still more deadly than the last in its resort to new instruments and methods. Europe is perfecting aircraft and inventing chemical surprises; and if Germany has lost her old weapons she may discover new ones of a far deadlier kind.

*Steps Toward
Maritime
Peace* The attitude of the United States is altogether friendly; but as long as the world shows lack of willingness to accept peace in good faith, and prefers to rely upon force as the principle behind diplomatic maneuvers, it will not be safe for the United States to trust for its security to its own freedom from designs against the rights of other nations. The sinking of the German fleet was a long step towards a new order of things; but there are other steps that are necessary in logical sequence. A second step was taken when the Washington Conference, accepting the proposals of the United States Government, found a way to stop competitive naval expansion as regards capital ships. Such naval agreements should go much farther, until they lead to the definite abandonment of naval warfare and to co-operative plans for the

policing of the seas at minimum cost. The next step should be the completion of a code of maritime international law to be ratified by all sea-faring nations. Then in due time the coöperative policing of the seas ought to be followed by the creation of a distinct ocean jurisdiction, with an international executive and with naval coöperation developed into an international navy, to maintain the freedom of the seas for the shipping and the commerce of all sea-faring nations.

Disarmament Only the Beginning Under these conditions one branch of the Permanent Court of International Justice would naturally concern itself with cases arising out of maritime activities. We must work for evolution along such lines as these, or else we must face the danger of future submarine warfare more deadly than that of five years ago, with the still greater danger of aerial aggression compared with which the air raids of the last war would seem of trifling importance. We must look forward to explosives of far greater destructive power, and to the dropping of poison gas bombs over unfortified cities of a deadly character that only the chemical experts can fully comprehend. A notable achievement, it is true, was the disarmament of Germany, following the armistice of 1918. It involved not only demobilization of troops, but the actual delivery of artillery and rifles, cessation of their manufacture and the transformation of great establishments like Krupp's from the making of war material to that of locomotives and farm machinery. But unless other equally important things are accomplished, this disarming of Germany may have effects precisely the opposite of those intended by the victors. Even if disarmament became general, it would be ineffective as a measure of peace, unless followed by constructive plans for international unity.

The Principle of Force Must be Abandoned Not to maintain an army of the conventional sort with universal military service, releases just so much man power for Germany's industrial efforts. Not to have a great annual military budget, relieves the public treasury and makes possible the more rapid improvement of railroads, canals, harbors, and other instruments of national efficiency. We have little evidence, as yet, to show that the German mentality has lost

its conception of war as involving supreme national effort, with the whole economic mechanism convertible for war uses. France has understood better than other countries that German disarmament does not of necessity remove the danger that Germany may yet within a quarter or half century make practical application of the principle of force to obtain for herself advantages that would not accrue to her through appeal to the principle of justice. With unsparing logic, the French Government, supported by the French leaders of public opinion, shows that we have here and now before us an issue that cannot be safely ignored. A future that is to rest solidly upon the new principle of justice in the world must be built upon honest and sound foundations.

Shall Germany be Made the Victor? To have delivered Germany from the burdens of military and naval expenditure, while granting to Germany a secure place on the seas and in world commerce; to put upon France and Belgium rather than upon Germany the cost of restoring the damages that Germany had inflicted upon Franco-Belgian industries, mines, railroads, cities, villages, and farms: all this might well result in making Germany rather than the Allies the victor in the long run. For the contest was one that deeply involved economic considerations, and had behind it motives that were largely those of conquest in the spheres of industry and commerce. Germany was not devastated, and if she does not make reparation payments on an ample scale she is virtually free from foreign indebtedness while she has been in a position through currency inflation to wipe out all those war obligations of a domestic kind which constituted her nominal war debt to her own people. The occupation of Germany's industrial districts by French troops, while expensive for France, does not interfere with the carrying on of Germany's business and industry except as the Germans themselves through strikes and sabotage and so-called passive resistance bring economic trouble upon themselves while trying to baffle their French opponents.

Germany Needs New Leaders Viewed through clear perspectives, apart from prejudice and distrust, the thing that Germany needs is leadership at once intelligent and conscientious, with a firm mental hold upon realities. Germany has now to

accept in good faith the principles of peace, and to abandon forever the lurking conception of an ultimate resort to force. Germany has to wipe out the disgraceful situation involved in her currency inflation. Her domestic debt was merely a matter of bookkeeping, and was actually paid off in the spent efforts of a war that had already failed in its avowed objects when the tide was turned at the Marne. Germany has to face reparations without haggling, and to substitute for evasive methods a frank and sincere attitude toward the world. Western and Central Europe, utilizing in harmony the economic opportunities that are available, could make steady recovery from a war that has involved heavy losses for every nation. The only possible compensation lies along the line of a genuine abandonment of militarism. If Germany should show a change of heart, the business leaders of the whole world, American and Asiatic as well as European, could get together in an economic conference and help to work out the settlement of many difficult matters.

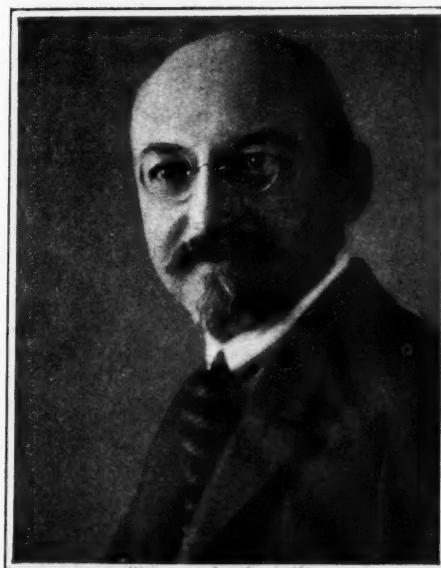
**Settlements
Must Face
Business Needs** Business men know that the coal and iron of Europe must be used for large production and general distribution on modern prin-



DR. CARL CUNO, GERMAN CHANCELLOR

(Dr. Cuno is one of the great business leaders of Germany, who might be persuaded by British and American industrial and transportation leaders to accept a proper reparations policy)

ciples, free from political and military obstruction. It must be made possible for France and Poland and other countries to have the same advantages of freedom from immense military budgets that have already been conferred upon Germany. There must be a period of peace that rests upon public sentiment and universal conviction, and this should be further guaranteed—as against any particular aggressor—by the power of an organized world. The principal objection to the existing League of Nations is that it was not so constructed as to give it an authoritative place in the world's reshaping. It was a minor achievement of a so-called peace conference that was not wisely guided toward just and enduring conclusions. The later work of the Washington Conference went much farther in the direction of procuring harmony on the plane of large affairs than anything that has yet been done by the present League of Nations. There was too much endeavor at Paris on the part of all countries, great and small, to see what they could get out of a game of grab, and then to see how they could be guaranteed in holding whatever advantages they might have secured.



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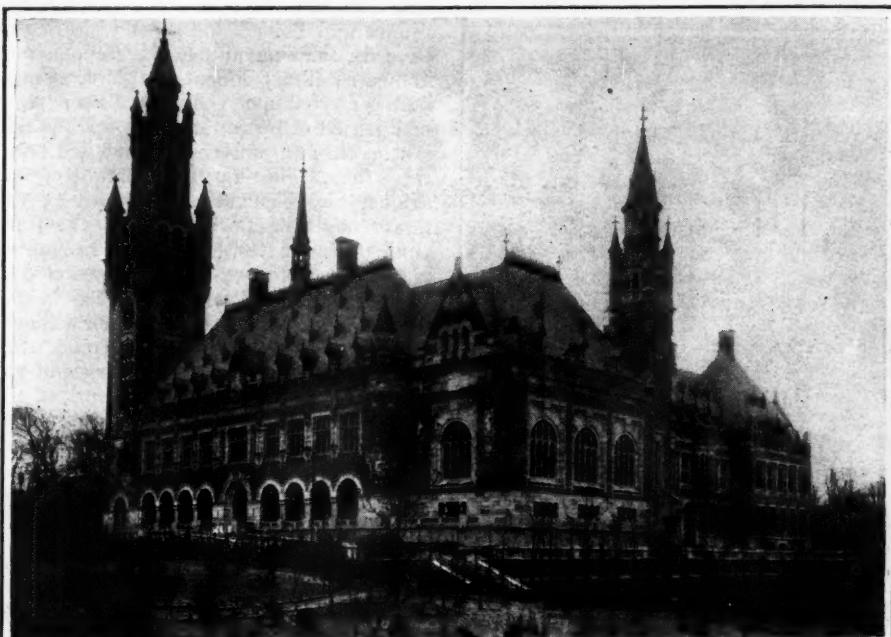
DR. OTTO L. WIEDFELT, FIRST GERMAN AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES SINCE 1917
(He is a director of the Krupp works in Essen)

*The League
is Modestly
Useful*

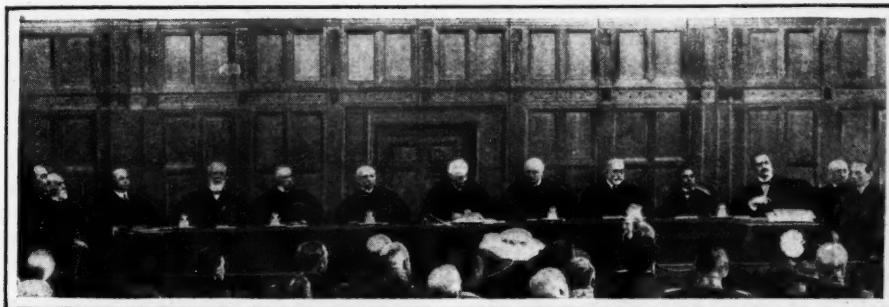
In a modest and too obscure fashion, the League of Nations has undoubtedly rendered Europe many services that have quite justified the slight cost involved in maintaining its organization at Geneva. We are far from a disposition to disparage it in these pages; and we have never thought it a duty to oppose the arguments of those who have favored American membership in the League, with or without reservations. But on the other hand, we have always recognized the palpable fact that the United States stands, in all of its policies and attitudes, on much more advanced ground as regards world peace than the European nations have ever been willing to take, whether through their membership in the League of Nations or in their separate programs. American policies are based upon good-will and a full recognition of the rights of others. It would be invidious to say that this is due to higher ethical standards attained by average Americans when compared with average Europeans. But it would be quite easy to show that the circumstances of American historical development have given this country a relative freedom from motives that would tempt us to adopt menacing or dangerous policies.

*Excitement
About the
World Court*

It is perhaps due to the long vacation of Congress, and the relative lack of material encountered by Washington correspondents and political writers, that the subject of our accepting membership in the existing Permanent Court of International Justice has been whipped up into the shape of a controversy that has taken on the semblance of something almost desperate in its urgency and its vital meaning. This country has always favored either temporary tribunals of arbitration for particular questions, or permanent tribunals on the Hague plan, or well constituted courts capable of dealing with justiciable matters to be voluntarily submitted. Our readers are well aware that an international court now exists, and that it sits at The Hague to deal with such questions as may be brought before it. It was one of those institutions that was advocated by the United States at the Paris Peace Conference. It might very well have been organized independently, as a development of the earlier Hague Tribunals; and the fact that it has come into being is due not so much to the Paris peace conference as to those previous American efforts which resulted in the building that Mr. Carnegie's



THE PEACE PALACE AT THE HAGUE, WHERE THE INTERNATIONAL COURT IS NOW IN SESSION



THE PERMANENT COURT OF INTERNATIONAL JUSTICE, AT THE HAGUE

(The members, left to right, are: Negulesco, Rumania; Angilotti, Italy; Altanura, Spain; Nyholm, Denmark; Weiss, France; Loder, Holland and President of Court; Viscount Finley, England; John Bassett Moore, U. S. A.; Oda, Japan; Huber, Switzerland; Yoramavitch, Serbia; and Hammanhold, Sweden)

beneficence erected at The Hague, with a view to progressive internationalism in the form of courts of justice, as well as to frequent conferences for the improvement of international law.

America's Adherence Quite Proper It happens that this particular court was provided for in the Covenant of the League of Nations. Its functioning, however, is in no way dependent upon the League. One of its most eminent judges is an American, the Hon. John Bassett Moore. The plans upon which it has been organized were made by a committee of publicists which included the Hon. Elihu Root. As matters now stand, the court is as available to the United States as if our Government was a member of the League of Nations. President Harding and our State Department believe that it would be a consistent and desirable thing for us to pay a share of the expenses of the court, and to take an official part from time to time in the formalities of filling vacancies on the bench. It is hard to find any weight in objections to our taking the advice of President Harding and Secretary Hughes in this matter. On the other hand, there is nothing pressing about the question, and nothing to get excited about. If we should be sending a case to that court, we would expect to pay court costs of various kinds. If we signed the protocol and were officially concerned in maintaining the court, we should have a bill to pay so trifling that it would not relieve the other nations of any conscious burden of expense. At the present time, Germany has a case under trial, and a temporary German judge is sitting.

Mr. Harding Expounds it at St. Louis If for some reason the President and Cabinet did not think it best for us just now to become officially connected with the court, the matter would bear postponement. But since the Administration has taken what seems to us a position in full accord with America's previous record and approved sentiment, it would seem altogether meticulous to try to find reasons for opposing such action. President Harding's plans for his long summer journey have been considerably altered in the detailed program of speech-making, but not in the main outline that we presented in these pages last month. According to plans as announced, he will have made good progress in his itinerary by the time this magazine reaches its readers. His first speech, scheduled for St. Louis June 21, was to deal in part with our relations to the World Court of Justice, and in general with the policies of the United States that have an international bearing. President Harding had originally expected to discuss the World Court and these international relations in one of his later speeches, probably at San Francisco. But so much party friction had been caused by certain incidents and accidents that the President thought it best not to postpone the topic.

Party Committees, and Policies The Republican National Committee maintains a publicity service and sends out weekly material to several thousand newspapers. When a particular party is in power and its international policies are having the most careful treatment by the President and the Department of State, no

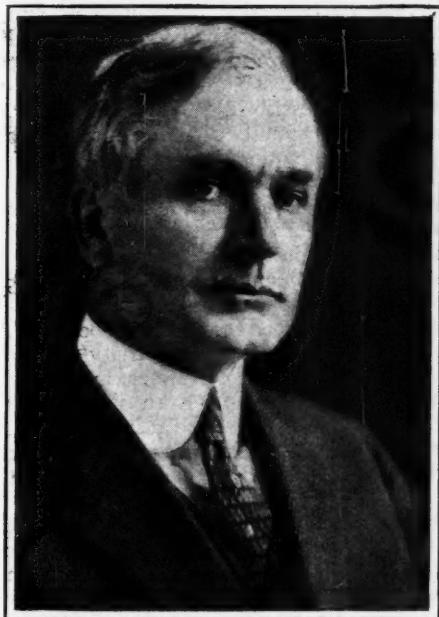
slight embarrassment may be caused if a publicity bureau operated by a party committee is inclined to adopt a policy of its own, and to push it in the press without reference to what the Government is trying to do through diplomatic channels. Thus the Republican Administration has thought it best that we should assume an official relationship to the World Court. But the Republican National Committee under the chairmanship of Mr. John T. Adams had apparently thought otherwise; and the employed men who run the committee's publicity service were inclined to force the pace somewhat, and to express with undue zeal the feeling against our getting mixed up with foreign matters that undoubtedly Mr. Adams sincerely entertains, along with many other Republicans.

Mr. Adams and His Zealous Publicity Men It is true enough that Mr. Eliot Wadsworth of the Treasury Department had been having a slow and hard time of it abroad, trying to persuade the Allies to agree to what would seem on its face to be the obviously just course to pursue in respect to the payment of our share of the cost of occupation along the Rhine. But it was highly indiscreet for Mr. Adams's earnest publicity men to call the leading European Governments hard names in a three-thousand word outburst of indignant Americanism that was destined to be sent to 6400 newspapers. The President had reason to be annoyed; and Secretary Hughes was justified in making sharp disavowal and in asking our representatives abroad to explain to foreign governments. The appearance of some divergence of viewpoint as between the Administration and the Republican National Committee was not a very serious matter, inasmuch as everybody knows that neither Mr. Adams nor the committee is recognized as having any official function as regards the launching of policies, whether foreign or domestic. The incident, however, was seized upon by the publicity department of the Democratic National Committee as affording a delightful opportunity to advertise Republican discord.

Mr. Hull and Democratic Harmony Mr. John T. Adams naturally challenged Mr. Cordell Hull to tell the truth about Democratic unity and consistency in support of the League of Nations. And so the agita-

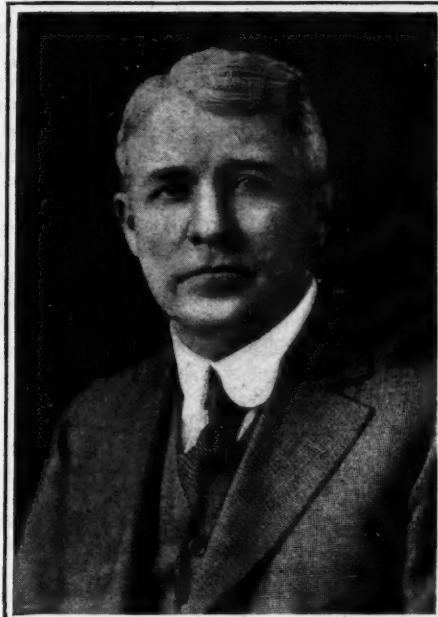
tion was kept alive. Mr. Adams's questioning of Mr. Hull was specific enough in its mentioning of incidents and of names to prove to the impartial observer that the Democratic party is perhaps even further from being united about the League of Nations and the World Court than are the Republicans. The Democratic party being out of power, and having no official responsibility about foreign affairs, Mr. Cordell Hull's publicity bureau can work quite freely, because its one object is to bother and discredit the party in power. But it is altogether different with Republican publicity work, inasmuch as the party is in office and therefore has to take all the risks. The disagreements of the Democrats would perhaps be a good deal more conspicuous if their party was in power than are those of the Republicans at the present moment, for it seems to be true that upon the whole President Harding and the group of officials and advisers with whom he works in pleasant agreement are enjoying the support of the main bulk of the Republican party.

Neither Party is Entirely Convinced Failure to agree with the President about the World Court is not regarded in Republican circles as a disagreement upon a major issue. Mr. Adams is cordially supporting the President, in most matters. There is no large element of the Republican party that is eagerly urging our adoption of the Versailles Treaty and immediate adherence to the League of Nations. In the Democratic party, on the other hand, it is understood that ex-President Wilson, with his great and growing influence behind the scenes, still regards the League of Nations as the one dominating issue. Mr. Cox of Ohio, who was the candidate three years ago, is understood to hold that view emphatically. Mr. Clarke, who resigned from the Supreme Bench to advocate the League of Nations, is presenting it everywhere as the cardinal feature of Democratic policy. And Chairman Cordell Hull of Tennessee is supposed to be in sympathy with the views of Wilson, Cox, and Clarke. But the eminent Senator Shields of Mr. Hull's own State is thoroughly opposed to that view, and so are many other leading Democrats. Moreover, there are great sections of the party, such as those in control of the State of New York and those who speak officially for the Democracy of New England, who seem to be



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HON. CORDELL HULL, OF TENNESSEE
(Chairman of the Democratic National Committee)



© Moffett

HON. JOHN T. ADAMS, OF IOWA
(Chairman of the Republican National Committee)

utterly opposed to the League of Nations and to anything that looks toward our being brought into closer touch with the unsettled affairs of Europe. Apparently the Republicans are inclined to move a little way toward official world organization, while trying to do a great deal in the direction of creating international friendship and confidence—such as exists between the United States and Canada.

Could a Great Modern City Collapse? In a later paragraph, we shall speak of the flotation of the Austrian loan last month, as regards its financial character and technical detail. At this point in our discussion of current affairs, there are certain other phases that demand our attention. First let it be noted that the Austrians are learning the uses of adversity. So terrible was the plight of Vienna for a year or two after the war that there was a far too hasty opinion prevalent that this great and beautiful city was virtually doomed to abandonment and decay, like the ancient cities of Mesopotamia. No prediction could have been more short-sighted. A modern capital like the Austrian metropolis may languish for a time, but must surely recover. There

are a certain number of millions of people in Central and Eastern Europe. They can go nowhere else, and they are determined to survive. Only two or three other population groups of similar size in the entire world are as well trained and as capable as these Europeans. They were bound to suffer severely through what we call "dislocation" of industrial life. The political breakup of the Hapsburg domains contributed to the paralysis of industry and commerce. It was hard to get enough food for the population of a great city like Vienna. Outside relief was invoked. There was much temporary retreat to agricultural areas, which in turn began once more to produce a surplus of foodstuff for city consumers.

Vienna, and the Process of Recovery Sheer necessity was bound to make the trained workers of a great center like Vienna willing to accept low wages. The existence of factories ready-built, of housing accommodations, of elaborate public facilities such as water supply and the like, together with navigation on the great Danube, a radiating railroad system, and other means of communication, made it inevitable that—

as the great Eastern European population group began to straighten out its tangled affairs—Vienna would again find itself fully inhabited and hard at work, converting materials into things to sell, with which to buy food and more materials. The demands of an industrial age like ours were bound to impress the nationalistic governments, to the end that trade across boundary lines might be resumed without too much hindrance by tariffs and other artificial barriers. In short, investments at Vienna were too valuable to be abandoned by the great and growing populations of Europe which are now far from despair, and which have less idea than ever before of allowing themselves to starve and become extinct. Budapest and Vienna had been leaders in some of the most important improvements of modern urban life, especially in such fields as those of public health; and their progressive views had spread to Western Europe and to America. It was absurd to think that these great cities, although Austrians and Hungarians had (like other war-shocked peoples) suffered greatly from the conflict of 1914-18, could not in due time devote themselves with at least moderate success to the recovery of their economic and social equilibrium.

The League and the Austrian Loan We are glad to accord all possible credit to the League of Nations for having studied so carefully the Austrian situation, and for

having recommended to European and American bankers the plan for a guaranteed loan that has proved successful. The fact that in the United States the allotted one-fifth was subscribed, several times over, within a few minutes after the offering was made, proves nothing except that the plan itself was acceptable. The Austrian guarantees and the wide distribution of the risk among different countries lifted the loan to a position quite unique as regards desirability. "Nothing succeeds like success"; and this example may have great consequences. One good result, it may be hoped, will be a more confident activity on the part of the League of Nations, as it finds its prestige growing. Even though the League has no armed force at its command, it may acquire much influence and power through the support of public opinion.

*Various
Favorable
Reactions*

Another excellent result that may be expected from this safeguarded loan to Austria will be the tendency to improve neighborly relations among the Central and Eastern European countries. They will be led to constant improvements in their diplomatic and business relationships. With Austria accepting in good faith the minor place she now holds as against her former grandeur, she obtains virtually a guaranteed security at the hands of all Europe in return for the absolute abandonment of militarism. She is not facing demands for war indemnity or for reparations, although by the treaty of peace she admitted nominal obligations. The great lesson this Austrian loan teaches is the need of entire good faith on one side and of coöperative action on the other. American participation in the loan shows to Europe how ready are the people of the United States to do anything whatever of a reasonable kind for the improvement of conditions abroad that comes to them in a definite and a workable shape.



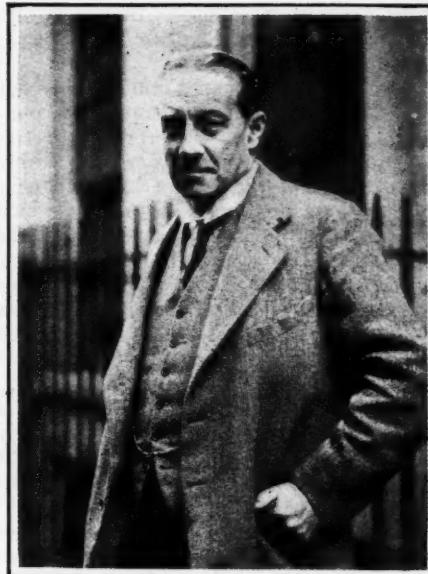
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AN ORDINARY STREET SCENE IN VIENNA
(One of the most magnificent of the world's great cities, which is destined to recover its prosperity)

Can Germany See, as Austria Now Sees? We shall not pause to say much about the contrast presented by the attitudes of Vienna

and Berlin respectively. Austria was far more drastically dealt with at the peace conference than was Germany; yet the Austrians seem to have accepted the inevitable, and to have been adopting positions that will bring them back almost at once into an accepted place in the European family. The German contrast is set forth with such clarity and strength of argument by Mr. Simonds elsewhere in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS, that we may merely add by way of editorial approval that we see no escape from the logic of his presentation. It is not a matter of being pro-French or anti-German. It is rather a matter of a just and honorable settlement, that would be best for Germany in the end. Will not Germany see her position as others see it? What are the steps to be taken? The Belgians, the Italians, and at last the British, are seeing clearly that there must be an end of that so-called passive resistance on Germany's part, in the Ruhr, which has turned the French invasion virtually into war, whereas it ought to be merely an occupation of a limited kind for guarantee of payment. Next should come an agreement upon amounts and terms of payment.

The Ability to Pay, and the Point of Honor The latest German proposal begins to be definite, but it offers yearly installments that are only about half as large as they ought to be. Germany has no foreign or domestic debts to consider except reparation payment. Everyone will admit that it is harder to pay foreign debts than domestic, because in the one case wealth goes out of the country, while in the other, as in the United States, it is collected from the nation by taxes and returned to the nation in the form of interest on loans. But Germany has since the war put her industrial mechanism into the highest kind of effective condition. After a brief interval of preparation, she could pay the equivalent of six hundred million dollars of American money per year. In her last note she has offered to pay three hundred millions. If she could but see the value to herself in every way of acting in good faith, she would find her foreign markets improving and would begin to perceive the pecuniary value of her unarmed position. Having been compelled to give up her navy and her army, she has only to act in good faith in order to realize the full benefits of the international security that she would be entitled to receive in a world



THE RT. HONORABLE STANLEY BALDWIN,
THE NEW BRITISH PRIME MINISTER

(It is hoped that Mr. Baldwin may have influence enough to help bring about a further development of the German reparations offer, so that it may take form as a beginning for negotiations)

that had obliged her to abandon the means of self-defense. Honor has great financial value; and Germany is in honor bound to pay for reparations. The saving of army and navy bills alone would go very far toward meeting reparation charges.

British Influence at Berlin If great business leaders like the new British Premier, Mr. Stanley Baldwin—and England's foremost banker, Mr. Reginald McKenna, who is soon to enter the Baldwin Cabinet as Chancellor of the Exchequer—are about to make a fresh effort to open the eyes of Germany's leaders to the real situation, there is some hope that a solution may be arrived at during the tenth year of the period that began with Germany's invasion of Belgium in July, 1914. With passive resistance ended, Ruhr occupation by France would soon change its character. With reparation payments fixed upon an accepted basis, Germany might find herself in a position to ask the League of Nations to aid in various succeeding steps for financial rehabilitation. She might possibly need a moderate sized loan to put her banking and currency at once upon a sound basis. She would have to raise current revenues to

meet her current expenses; that is to say, to balance her budget.

A Debt that Germany Must Accept The great World War has left most of the important countries of the world with tremendous debts. Germany would simply have to accept the fact of having a debt not so large in proportion as that which Italy, Belgium, France, England, and the United States are carrying. Furthermore, her debt would not represent the exactions of ruthless victors, but a bare payment for actual damages inflicted upon invaded countries, with no indemnities for bereaved families and no merely punitive charges. If Germany does not see these things in a true light, it will be her misfortune in many ways as well as her lasting dishonor. The French Government is perfectly aware that while this situation lasts there is no thought in the United States of any payment, either of principal or interest, of French indebtedness incurred here. It is to be hoped most earnestly that the German mind may somehow be opened to see things as they appear to the rest of the world. It is sometimes less costly to meet an honest debt frankly than to maneuver for its evasion. And this is what Germany must learn.

Uncle Sam's Peppery Critics Abroad It is not easy to follow the changes in domestic politics of all the countries that are now exercising the responsibilities of full sovereignty on the Continent of Europe. Within the next few months we shall present a resurvey of the position and progress of a number of these older and newer sovereignties. Reports have been disseminated from more than one recent observer to the effect that Uncle Sam is now universally hated across the Atlantic. If this were true, it would be necessary that the President and Congress should keep it in mind; and that the United States should be prepared to protect itself against a malignancy that might at some future time prove dangerous. As a matter of fact, this is true only as prejudices are fomented by certain unfortunate tendencies in journalism. American travelers are taking several hundred million dollars to Europe to spend this summer, and they will be well treated, in so far as their own tact and good conduct justify. The good-will of foreign nations is desirable, and in recent years the United States has deserved good-will, as no other

nation in all history has ever deserved it. Our national dignity requires that we do no catering, and that we decide for ourselves, uninfluenced by selfish foreign propaganda. Everybody knows that American good-will, as constantly shown in relief measures, has kept millions of unfortunate people alive—in Europe as well as Asia—during the vicissitudes of the past five years. Also it is equally well known that the American fountains of beneficence will not be dried up in the future.

Peasants and Land-Holding in Russia Even in Russia, the relief that was sent from this country during the recent famine period will not fail to have helped greatly in that slow but sure process of moral recovery that is to bring Russia back into accord with our own and other governments. There seems to be no revolution of violence in prospect, but there are many signs of impending change in Russia. The communistic theory has broken down, and this is especially true in all its relation to land holding and peasant life. Taking Russia as a whole, it is a vast congeries of agricultural neighborhoods. The net result of the revolutionary period of the past six years has been greatly to multiply the number of peasant land proprietors, and to strengthen the institution of private property by converting landless farm laborers into owners who would fight to the death rather than lose their hold upon their acres and the appurtenances of their farms. There may indeed come a time when some at least of



"Hold on, Uncle Sam, you are carrying off our cheese."
From *L'Œuvre* (Paris, France)

This is typical of the recent treatment of Uncle Sam in many foreign cartoons. As a matter of fact, American oil interests are putting no pressure whatever upon the United States Government, and oil cuts a very small figure in real diplomacy apart from Mexico and possibly Rumania



A RECENT STREET-MARKET SCENE IN OVERCROWDED MOSCOW

(From which Russian center many families have lately been returning to find low rents and superior comfort in Petrograd)

the great landed proprietors whose estates have been subdivided may be recompensed. The peasants will not be dispossessed, but there may be some scheme of long-time payment adopted that would be analogous to what is going on in various other parts of Europe.

A "Ground-swell" that Will Redeem Russia Slowly but steadily, the hard-working peasantry of Russia will be increasing their exports of food and raw material, and demanding in return a supply of textiles, home and farm utensils, and other articles which must come from Germany, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Austria, France, Italy, and England. In due time a "ground-swell" will make its way, through local councils and provincial organizations, that will provide Russia with a representative government in place of the present *de facto* Soviet authority. Our readers will remember that a year or two ago the desolation of Petrograd was depicted, and we were assured that that great capital, like Vienna, was doomed to suffer depopulation and permanent decay. The population had fallen from over two millions to something like half a million. The capital had been removed to Moscow. That center was teeming with life, and it was reported that something like two and a half million people were crowded into Moscow housing accommodations which were

adapted to not more than half the number. But already the inevitable reaction is apparent. Petrograd has now more than a million people, and its private and public facilities will in due time be put to advantageous use again by a nation which at no distant future will have two hundred million people, and which will require all the commercial and industrial services that nowadays tend to concentration in large centers. The Russian people are not to be destroyed because of a hard period of adversity. It is best, however, that they should work their own way back to responsible government at home, and to trustworthy conduct in their foreign relations.

Breaking Up Baronial Estates We are publishing in this number an interesting article by Lucy E. Textor, of Vassar College, on the breakup of great estates in Bohemia (Czechoslovakia) under the flourishing republic that President Masaryk and his associates organized in the autumn of 1918. Miss Textor's article is the more instructive, because it describes particular estates and shows the process of subdivision under auspices of the Government. What Bohemia is doing is typical of an agrarian movement that has been going on during these past few years all the way from the Baltic to the Black Sea. One would find similar things happening in Estonia,

Latvia, Courland, Lithuania, Austria, and particularly in Rumania, where so much of the land had previously been held in great estates by an hereditary landed aristocracy. A like condition had existed in Hungary, as is well known. It is probably true that the transition in Czechoslovakia is more carefully guarded, and that landlord interests are more justly treated than in some other countries. Generally speaking, outside of Russia, it has been the intention to recognize the titles of former owners, and to provide equitable compensation.

The Small Farmer, all over Europe The upshot of it all is that the farming element in Europe is showing a rapid tendency to pass from the status of mere agricultural laborers, or tenants under powerful landlords, to that of independent proprietors, as in France, in Denmark, in Switzerland, and in North America. Along with this tendency, there will undoubtedly be recognized in the near future a great need of agricultural education and of scientific tillage. On many of the large European estates, heavy machinery and modern methods had been introduced under the direction of competent superintendents. With the break-up of these estates, large machinery cannot be owned exclusively by individual peasant proprietors. The co-operative use of such labor-saving devices will have to be worked out. Europe is already fairly well advanced in agricul-

tural coöperation for purposes of marketing standardized products. In some of the Balkan countries, particularly Bulgaria, peasant proprietorship had prevailed for many years. Since the Great War, the peasants, who constitute by far the greater part of the population, had been carrying on Bulgarian government, and endeavoring to bring Bulgaria into better relations with Serbia and other neighboring countries.

Bulgaria Experiences a Revolution The law-making body of Bulgaria is the National Assembly of a single house, with 227

members. More than three years ago (in March, 1920) a parliamentary election was held, and the agrarians, or Peasant party, gained 110 seats as against Communists 49, Socialists 8, Democrats 24, Liberals 6, Radicals 8, Progressives 8, Nationalists 14. Alexander Stamboulysky was made Premier and Minister for Foreign Affairs. On June 9 there was a sudden movement, led by the army and in accord with various non-agrarian political leaders, which seized the government and installed a ministry headed by M. Zankoff. The new Cabinet includes members of nearly all the parties except the agrarian. The summary methods of this revolution were apparently imitated from those of the Fascisti in Italy that put Mussolini in power. The news from Berlin would indicate that this *coup d'état* was regarded as pro-German in character, while news from Belgrad showed that the Government of Serbia (Jugoslavia) viewed the situation with a good deal of apprehension.

The true interest of Bulgaria would have led her to stand with the Allies rather than with the Central Powers in the Great War. It is to be hoped that without bloodshed the peace-loving and hard-working peasant farmers of Bulgaria may regain control, and that firm understandings may bring Bulgaria into accord with the governments at Belgrad, Bucharest, and Prague. Eastern Europe regarded the Bulgarian crisis as likely to lead to civil war, which might seriously endanger peace in the Balkans.



THE ESTHONIAN YOUTH SHOWN ABOVE IS PLOWING THE LAND ASSIGNED TO HIM BY THE GOVERNMENT IN THE SUB-DIVISION OF GREAT ESTATES

(He is a type of new landed proprietor to be found almost everywhere in Europe)

Greece and the Refugees The Hon. Henry J. Allen, former

Governor of Kansas, returned last month from a tour of inspection he had made in the interest of the work of Near East Relief that has been carried on during the past year under great difficulties by reason of sensational happenings in the Turkish Empire. Governor Allen saw Smyrna in its ruins, and after conferences with Turkish officials, as well as those of other governments, realized fully that the Asiatic Greeks who had been expelled by the Turks would never be allowed to return. A million and a quarter of these, along with a good many Armenian refugees, had found shelter

in Greece, and these now constitute 20 per cent. of the population of that small country. It is proposed to establish these people, most of whom unfortunately are either children or old men and women, in communities upon relatively undeveloped lands that lie in the Salonica region or in Macedonia. To accomplish this will require money that Greece cannot supply out of her limited revenues. Governor Allen believes that it would be an act of large justice and of broad statesmanship for the United States to make, not a gift, but a loan, to Greece to aid in the working out of this immense problem. We had assigned a credit of fifty million dollars to Greece, but had actually loaned only fifteen millions. It would seem appropriate that we should extend to Greece the remainder of the money under the original allotment of fifty millions.

There Will Be an Armenian Future Many people are inquiring, What has become of the Armenians, and is there to be any future for that unfortunate race? Some hundreds of thousands of Armenians had already been living under Russian protection in the Caucasus region East of the Black Sea, and many scores of thousands have escaped in that direction from the more recent Turkish massacres. That



HON. HENRY J. ALLEN, FORMER GOVERNOR OF KANSAS

(Arriving at New York after a remarkable tour of lands around the eastern Mediterranean and the Black Sea, where he has been inspecting the work of the Near East Relief)

these people may have a worthy future is reasonably certain. The Near East Relief, in one place or another, is taking care of many thousands of Armenian orphans. It cannot abandon them, and it proposes to train them for a future leadership of the Armenian people. In order that they may be self-supporting to a considerable extent while being trained and taught, they will be colonized upon extensive agricultural tracts, where they will learn various trades, modern farming, and the use of such facilities as are common in civilized countries.

Lausanne and the Stubborn Turk The Balkan regions have been viewing with great concern the long and tortuous course of diplomacy at Lausanne, where the Allies are trying to settle a number of things with the victorious and uncompromising Turks. The Greeks at Lausanne had the courage to refuse to pay any indemnity to Turkey, and have shown more of what we in the United States call "spunk" than have the great Allied powers in their discussions with Ismet Pasha. It would be unfortunate for all concerned if the Turks should finally be awarded a further extension of territory beyond the line in Europe that had been fixed as between Turkey and Greece. It is obligatory upon the powers to see that Bulgaria has com-

mercial access to the sea, and all the Balkan States are interested. In the long run, it will be found that Turkey has no place in Europe. Constantinople ought to be internationalized, and might well be given to the League of Nations with authority to govern it and to oversee all relationships between Turks and Christians, and indeed among the different sovereignties of the Near East on both sides of the Straits.

Mr. Harding Will Speak on Canadian Soil To allude once more to President Harding's plans of travel, it is a matter of no small significance that Vancouver, British Columbia, is on his itinerary and is listed as the first place where he is to speak after spending about three weeks in Alaska. According to plans as last announced, he was to speak at Portland and Tacoma on the fourth and fifth of July and at the Puget Sound cities of Vancouver and Seattle on July twenty-sixth and twenty-seventh. There is no reason why the President of the United States should not at least once in his term of office speak to neighbors and friends across our northern boundary line. Every forward movement in the Dominion is of

benefit to the United States, and the two great countries are destined to go forward side by side in a spirit of mutual helpfulness. It is to be hoped that American farmers may see the large statesmanship that underlies the Canadian proposals of tariff reciprocity. A commodity like wheat has its prices fixed not by national tariffs but by world conditions of demand and supply. Full reciprocity in all kinds of products of field and forest would be beneficial to the United States as well as to Canada, and would make for those harmonious relations that are so much to be desired. We are publishing certain articles in this number of the REVIEW OF REVIEWS upon the leaders and the political and economic problems of the Northwestern Canadian Provinces that our readers will find of remarkable interest. The time will come when Canada will not be so dependent for its prosperity upon the world's demand for wheat. Meanwhile, agricultural statesmen will deal with the season's emergencies as best they may be able. The new type of leader, as developed in British Columbia, Alberta, and Saskatchewan, will appeal greatly to the admiration of Americans who



THE NEAR EAST RELIEF HAS BEEN DOING A GIGANTIC WORK IN REMOVING ORPHANS AND REESTABLISHING THEM OUTSIDE OF TURKISH DOMINIONS

(Many have found shelter in Greece, and the photograph above represents part of a migration of 15,000 boys and girls who will be trained for useful and perhaps leading parts in shaping the future of eastern lands)

believe in the inherent power of our democracies to bring forward capable men from the ranks of the people.

Canadian Wheat Farmers in Politics In our group of articles this month relating to Canada will be found (see page 53) an exceedingly striking and important account of farm conditions in the vast prairie provinces of the Canadian Northwest. The article is by Mr. J. H. Haslam, and is entitled "A Farm Crisis in Western Canada." A vivid picture is presented of the opening up of the wheat-growing prairie farms, and of the emergence of the farmers as a political organization controlling provincial governments in Alberta, Manitoba, and practically also in Saskatchewan, with farmer delegations now sitting in the Parliament at Ottawa. These new regions are so dependent upon the success of their wheat crop, as regards both its yield and its marketing, that their chief concern about the agencies of government nowadays has to do with the collective management of their wheat interests. Mr. Haslam's article makes this situation clear, and shows also the anxieties that attend the harvesting and sale of the 1923 crop. He tells the story of Premier Dunning, of Saskatchewan, who was formerly manager of a great coöperative grain handling company, and is now the executive head of the Government. He tells also of Premier Greenfield, of Alberta, a working farmer who came from England fifty-two years ago in the steerage. A farmers' representative of a different type is Premier Bracken, of Manitoba, who is no politician but has been president of the provincial agricultural college.

An American Wheat Conference Every new country that develops so rapidly has problems of just this kind. Northwest Canada will after a time diversify its products, and will be relatively less dependent upon the European market for wheat. Its rich soils will bring stable prosperity. Reaction, after the war-time high prices of wheat, was inevitable; and the farmers of Western Canada will find that there is no magical remedy in the domain of politics for situations which—in fundamental aspects—can only be worked out by slow

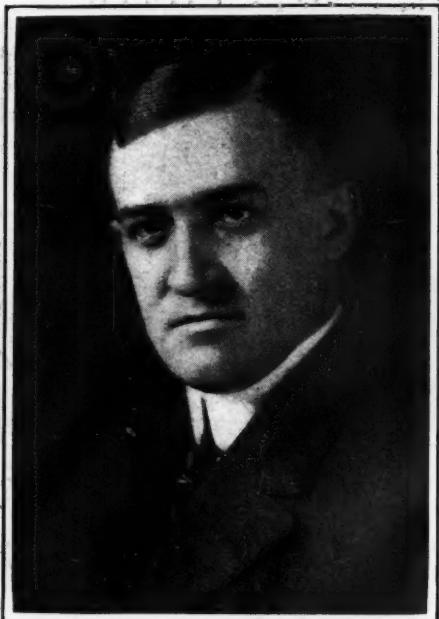


A SCENE IN THE BRITISH COLUMBIAN CITY OF VANCOUVER, WHERE PRESIDENT HARDING IS SCHEDULED TO MAKE A SPEECH AND PLAY AN INTERNATIONAL GAME OF GOLF ON JULY 26

(The large building in the foreground is a hotel. To right and left are suggestions of a handsomely developing city)

economic adjustments in the field of private effort. Nevertheless, there are emergency phases of the depression in agricultural values that must naturally call for public treatment. While the wheat problem is not so pressing in our own agricultural States, it is a matter of great importance to individuals and to communities. For that reason, a national wheat conference was several weeks ago arranged for, to be held in Chicago on June 19 and 20. At the head of this movement was Governor J. A. O. Preus, of Minnesota, whose high training and able leadership has made him one of the marked men of the Northwest.

Present Crises and Future Equilibrium The Governors of Illinois, Kansas, Missouri, North Dakota, Oklahoma, and Ohio joined Governor Preus in the call for this conference, as did Senator Capper, of Kansas; Dr. Copeland, Senator-elect from New York; President Barrett of the Farmers Union, President Bradfute of the Farm Bureau Federation, Master Lowell of the National Grange, ex-Senator Chamberlain of the Shipping Board, and Mr. Sapiro, our foremost practical authority in agricultural coöperative marketing. We shall comment upon the recommendations of this conference in our next number. There is one broad conclusion that we have been presenting to our readers from time to time. And that is, that at a comparatively early



GOVERNOR J. A. O. PREUS, OF MINNESOTA

(Whose candidacy to succeed the late Senator Nelson at Washington and whose various public activities have made him one of the leading American figures of the past month)

date we shall not be a wheat-exporting nation. Europe and Asia will increase their wheat production and also their average per capita consumption. Our American grain-growing States will have to aim at larger diversity of employments and pursuits, in order to develop home markets for farm products. Meanwhile, of course, the wheat situation must be taken care of, because the farmer of this decade cannot live on philosophical reflections as to the economic tendencies that will begin to produce stable equilibrium by 1950.

Agriculture in England The agricultural situation in England is receiving governmental attention, and undoubtedly there is just beginning to sweep across the face of that beautiful island what will in due time produce a profound change, in the breaking up of great estates, the lessening of the area of private parks and ornamental grounds, and the increased number of freehold farmers intent upon enlarging their output of wheat, milk, beef, and pork for the British market. This movement in England will probably take the form of a standardized method of trans-

ferring great estates to tenant farmers, somewhat along the lines that had been previously worked out for Ireland.

Transferring Irish Lands

As our readers are well aware, the British Government, having provided forty years ago for the adjustment of rent charges by courts, in order to stop the wholesale eviction of tenants, had proceeded a few years afterwards to put in force a governmental program for buying out estates of absentee landlords and reselling in small farms to tenants. The landlords have accepted government bonds, and the tenants have been ready to pay enough to meet the sums needed for interest and gradual repayment over a long period. This gives the farmer the welcome feeling of proprietorship, while making his carrying charges considerably less on the average than his former rent bills. The greater part of the estates in Ireland — fully two-thirds — have already passed to the working farmers under this system. Last month, in the Parliament of the new Irish Free State at Dublin, the Minister of Agriculture introduced a bill providing for the issuance of \$125,000,000 of new land obligations to complete the process of buying out the landlords. It is to be noted that this imposes no real burden upon the Government, which merely employs its credit and acts as an agent in the interest of both sellers and buyers.

The Irish Free State is Victorious

Perhaps the most important definite news of last month was that which informed us of the final collapse of the unfortunate De Valera rebellion against the Irish Free State. This fanatical and hopeless movement was called off, in an order to his followers issued by Mr. De Valera on May 24. President Cosgrave of the Free State has brought Ireland safely through an ordeal of civil strife that has cost probably more than \$100,000,000 in direct government outlay, apart from the still greater losses of individuals. Mr. Mark Sullivan, who recently visited Dublin and witnessed the Dail, or Parliament, in session, writes in a highly complimentary manner as to the ability shown in debate, and the orderliness and restraint that is evident in all the proceedings. The Constitution of the Free State, as agreed upon between Ireland and Great Britain, gives the Free State the same powers as those of the Canadian

Dominion. The Irish Government has been conferring with that of Canada regarding representation at Washington; and it is stated that Canada expects in the near future to send an Ambassador to the United States, whereupon Dublin will follow the example set by Ottawa.

The New Cabinet in England

Mr. P. W. Wilson, whose protracted sojourn in this country, while familiarizing him with American affairs, has not lessened his keen interest in those of his own country, writes for us this month an article on party tendencies and domestic issues in England as illustrated by recent events, particularly by the reorganization of the Government under Mr. Stanley Baldwin as Prime Minister. Although the Tories keep the reins in their hands, with the Cabinet posts largely manned by the members of the House of Lords, it by no means follows that the Government is reactionary. All the tendencies in England are progressive; and it is merely a question of the rapidity of the pace. It will not be a great while until another election is held, the present Parliament having been chosen just after the armistice and before the peace conference, more than four years and a half ago. The British Empire is undergoing many changes, but it is a highly solvent affair, nevertheless, with British statesmanship and diplomacy constantly recruited by tried and trained men from all ranks. There is not the slightest tendency in England toward revolutionary upheaval, in spite of unemployment in certain industries, and restlessness among the demobilized soldiers. British trade, upon the whole, is gaining ground, and the prospect is decidedly more optimistic than last year.

The Dry Laws and the Ships

Of all the court decisions that have brought political embarrassment in recent months, the most troublesome one has been that which relates to liquor carried upon foreign ships entering American ports. As the law was previously enforced, American ships were not permitted to carry liquor anywhere; because, being under the American flag, they were constructively American soil. By similar reasoning, foreign ships, being under the flags of their respective countries, while not allowed to send liquor ashore or to traffic in it after they had come within the three-mile limit, were permitted



PRESIDENT WILLIAM T. COSGRAVE, HEAD OF THE IRISH FREE STATE

(Who has brought the De Valera Rebellion to an end)

to serve it on shipboard in accordance with their customs. The United States Supreme Court decision on April 30 has changed the whole situation. American ships are no longer debarred from carrying liquor outside of our territorial waters. But all ships, whether foreign or American, must be dry inside of our territorial waters. There is a good deal of confusion as to details, and naturally there have been protests from foreign governments.

A Correction of the Law is Needed

Readers of newspapers, however, should bear in mind that these protests, while made as a matter of form, have behind them no intention to be disputatious or offensive. Foreign governments are fully aware that the decision has created an unexpected condition, which would naturally seem to call for an amendment to the Volstead Act when Congress meets in December. It has been reported that President Harding will make such a recommendation to Congress. Congress never intended to assume jurisdiction over the eating and drinking customs of foreign crews on their own ships while inside American waters. Prohibition had as its aim the ending of the ordinary manufacture and sale of alcoholic beverages, on American soil, because the



GOVERNOR ALFRED E. SMITH, OF NEW YORK

liquor traffic was regarded as detrimental enough to justify prohibition on the national scale, whereas previously we had extended prohibition through State and local action to much the greater part of our area and population.

Gov. Smith and State Enforcement Governor Smith, of New York, after several weeks of delay following the adjournment of the legislature, held a public hearing on the repeal of the Mullan-Gage State Enforcement Act, and then signed the repeal on June 1. The Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution, and the enactments at Washington to give effect to constitutional prohibition, were quite generally followed in the several States by enactments of enforcing laws which were intended to bring State agencies into full coöperation with those of the Federal Government. In the very nature of the case, prohibition laws require constant vigilance in all localities if they are to be successfully enforced. The object of the wets in securing the repeal of the Mullan-Gage Act in New York could have been nothing else except to add difficulties, and thereby make the law of the land more easy of violation. We take our stand without hesitation on the side of those who believe that laws of this kind should be enforced until they are repealed.

We have no objections to offer to the demand in certain quarters that in the comparatively near future there should be an effort made in one State and another to find out by the test of a popular vote whether a majority would like to have the Eighteenth Amendment repealed or sustained. We are not prepared to express an opinion as to the verdict that would be rendered, if the people of the States should vote again on this question after an experience, let us say, of ten years. But, so far as we are able to observe public opinion to-day, we are convinced that a great majority of the people of the country wish to have the amendment respected while it is a part of the Constitution, and to have the Volstead Act enforced while it stands on the statute books. Although Governor Smith's action was to have been expected, the arguments that have been advanced to justify it have not carried widespread conviction.

The Loan to Austria Contrary to widespread doubts as to the success of the

Austrian loan, the American portion, \$25,000,000, was oversubscribed within fifteen minutes after the opening of the lists on June 11. The English portion, also, was promptly and handsomely oversubscribed in the London offering. The total loan was \$126,000,000, bearing interest at 7 per cent. and sold to investors in America at 90, thus yielding slightly over 8 per cent. The bonds run for 20 years, to 1943, and are callable as a whole after 10 years from the issuing date. They are secured by the gross receipts of the Austrian customs and the tobacco monopoly, and also severally, in parts ranging from 1 per cent. to nearly 25 per cent., by the governments of eight out of nine participating nations—Great Britain, France, Belgium, Italy, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Sweden, and Holland.

A Good Augury The brilliant success of this financial undertaking is a distinct triumph for those who

believed that with painstaking care and caution as to ways and means America can give definite material help to Europe; and it was a triumph, too, for the group of America's leading bankers, headed by J. P. Morgan & Company, who worked out the details of the plan in the face of many prophecies of failure. The loan was made

as the outcome of the efforts of a committee appointed by the League of Nations to study the economic condition of prostrate Austria, dictate the measures she should take to render financial help efficient, and see that these measures were taken. From the armistice until the autumn of 1922, Austria went from bad to worse. Last September the work of economic rehabilitation began under the direction of Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, who was appointed Commissioner-General over Austria with very great powers. The Austrian crown has now been stabilized and with the aid of the present loan it is expected that the country's budget will balance in 1924. The spectacle of a group of victorious nations coming thus to the aid of a distressed foe, and rendering, with care and wisdom, the support necessary to set her on her feet again, is one that has not often been seen in the history of mankind.

The Trade Balance Turns Against Us For nearly nine years, we have been selling more goods to foreign countries than they have been sending to us, with a continual "favorable" trade balance, rising in several recent years to amounts due us on balance such as have never been known before in international trading. As a result, more than \$3,000,000,000 of gold, or nearly half the world's total gold supply, is in the United States. Last March, for the first time, there came a reversal of our export excess. In that month, imports exceeded exports by no less than \$60,000,000, which made another record and gave the largest excess of imports known in our history. There are some unusual features in this turn of the tide. In the first place, the huge volume of imports that brought it about has come to us in the face of the highest tariffs we have ever imposed, and in the face of the general belief, at the time the present tariff bill was enacted, that these high customs duties would seriously hamper foreign importers in sending goods here.

Raw Materials Coming In In the second place, the present import movement is very largely made up of raw materials coming to the United States to be manufactured, while an analysis of our export trade shows a remarkable increase in the volume of manufactured goods we are sending abroad, the increase running

no less than 20 per cent. over the preceding year, and 60 per cent. greater than the value of manufactures exported in the year preceding the war. These figures show that our growing population consumes more and more of the output of our farms and mines, leaving small surplus to send abroad. In 1880, foodstuffs and material for manufacture formed 84 per cent. of our exports; 78 per cent. in 1890; 64 per cent. in 1900 and 54 per cent. in 1922. Manufactured goods made up only 15 per cent. of the exports in 1880, while in 1922 they had reached 46 per cent.

Even the Railroads are Showing Profits For the first time in nearly seven years the railroads of the country are showing net earnings that would, if maintained with reasonable continuity and certainty, give them the credit which they must have if they are ever to finance themselves in the only safe and sound way—by selling stock to investors to raise the new money required for facilities to give adequate service to the public. The returns for April were at the annual rate of $6\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. on the valuation of the roads fixed by the Interstate Commerce Commission. It is true that for the first quarter of 1923 the earnings of the roads were still well under the $5\frac{3}{4}$ per cent. allowed them as a fair return. The traffic offered is exceeding all records for the first half of a year, the weekly car loadings being up to a million, with passenger traffic also very heavy. The railroad officials have informed the Commerce Commission that the car shortage from which the roads and the country have been suffering for many months has now been overcome; that \$676,000,000 will be expended for new rolling stock this year, and that the fall crop movement will be handled without abnormal difficulty.

Investors Fear Politics A very small fraction of our railroad securities are, however, now eligible for the investment of saving funds, and individual investors are still badly frightened by the prospect of future legislation inimical to the railroads. The "progressive" groups in Congress have been talking vehemently of their purpose to scale down very radically the valuation put by the Interstate Commerce Commission on railroad property in the United States—about \$20,000,000,000. Twelve billions seems to be the fetish



MR. PETER J. BRADY, NEW YORK LABOR LEADER, WHO BECOMES PRESIDENT OF THE NEW FEDERATION BANK

figure cherished and put out on all occasions by most of the so-called progressive reformers as the actual value of the railroads. Such threatenings have had the effect of keeping the securities of great numbers of railroads selling at panic or bankruptcy prices, and of impeding effectually any movement toward the one thing most to be desired—enhanced credit that will allow necessary capital to be raised. As a matter of practical fact, it is difficult to see how any such radical legislation can be effected for at least a year, but it will require the guaranty of much more than one year of peace and security to bring investing in railroad securities back into public favor.

A Helpful Decision A recent incident bearing importantly on the question of the valuation of railroad property was the decision of the Supreme Court handed down on May 21, that in valuing public service corporation property, for the purpose of rate-making, the cost of reproduction at present values must be one of the factors taken into consideration.

This does not mean, as has been assumed in the comment of many critics of the Court's decision, that present reproduction costs are to be the only factor and that,

for instance, if the Pennsylvania Railroad were being valued, the only question would be what every item of its property would cost if it were purchased or constructed to-day. As a matter of fact, what valuation experts have to ascertain in rate-making cases is the probable fair value of the future, rather than of the past or present, and the Court has very pertinently decided that in making this forecast, present costs must be considered.

*Labor in
the Banking
Business*

On May 19 a new labor bank was opened in New York City—the Federation Bank of New York—with Governor Smith, Mr. Samuel Gompers, and a host of other notables present to make a gala occasion. The new bank has as its president, Peter J. Brady, of the Printing Trades Council. The speeches of the day carried the thought that working people are realizing keenly the great economic power lying in the control of credit, and that they have determined to share in this power. Governor Smith called attention to the equally important fact that these new institutions will help to explain to laboring people the responsibilities and difficulties encountered by employers, and thus make possible a better understanding between capital and labor. With this latest addition, there are twelve labor banks in actual operation in the United States. Three of these were organized and are now controlled by the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers, who were the pioneers in starting a National Bank in Cleveland, Ohio, three years ago. This first bank has a capital stock of \$1,000,000 and reserves of over \$15,000,000. Railroad workers have a trust and savings bank in San Bernardino, California, and the railroad unions a National Bank in Spokane (Washington), while the Birmingham (Alabama) Federated Bank and Trust Company was organized by the State Federation of Labor and locals of the Brotherhood of Locomotive Engineers. Thus, out of the twelve existing labor banks, six were organized by railroad men. Other trade unions now embarked in the banking business are the machinists, with a savings bank in Washington, D. C., the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, with a trust and savings bank in Chicago, and another in New York, the Central Labor Union in Philadelphia, and various labor groups in Tucson, Arizona, and Three Forks, Montana.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From May 15 to June 15, 1923)

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 16.—Secretary Work, of the Interior Department, reverses his predecessor, Mr. Fall, and permits foreign-owned or controlled companies to lease oil and mineral rights on Indian lands.

May 17.—Alva B. Adams (Dem.), of Pueblo, is appointed by the Governor of Colorado to succeed Samuel D. Nicholson (Rep.), deceased, in the United States Senate.

The Attorney-General's office rules that Comptroller General McCarl has no power to supervise decisions of the Federal Compensation Commission.

May 21.—William R. Day resigns as umpire of the Mixed Commission for the adjustment of war claims of Germany and the United States; Edwin B. Parker, of Texas, will succeed him.

May 22.—The Governor of Florida signs a bill prohibiting capital punishment of convicts.

May 24.—The Republican National Committee, at the request of the State Department, withdraws statements derogatory to Britain and France in reference to Rhine army costs settlement.

The Census Bureau announces that in the fiscal year ending June 30, 1922, Michigan's governmental costs exceeded revenues by \$8.01 per capita, with taxes at \$6.73 per capita; expenditures were \$92,538,443, revenues \$61,738,256.

May 25.—The Lusk anti-sedition laws of New York State are repealed by a bill which Governor Smith signs.

May 26.—President Harding appoints Bert E. Haney (Dem.), of Oregon, to the United States Shipping Board.

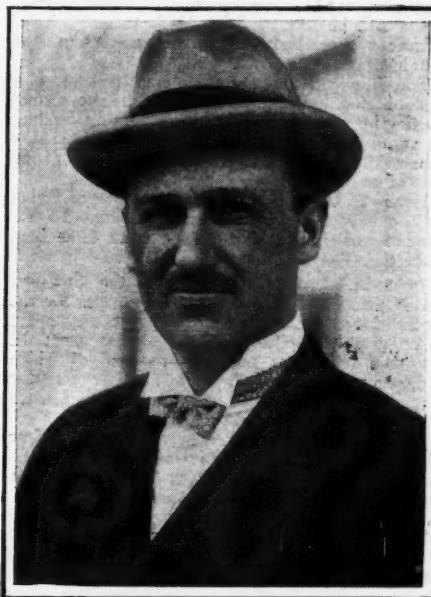
May 30.—President Harding, speaking at Arlington Cemetery, says: "We cannot guarantee, but we can promote, the peaceful adjustment of disputes. We can aid in the establishment of the agencies of peace."

May 31.—Secretary Hoover approves the plan of the American Construction Council to flatten the peak prices of labor and materials in the building trades and to spread \$15,000,000,000 of proposed construction, delayed since 1914, so that it will not disorganize the industry.

June 1.—Governor Alfred E. Smith, of New York, stating that he has no political future which he is willing to attain by the sacrifice of principle, signs a bill repealing the State prohibition-enforcement law (Mullan-Gage act); he declares that primary responsibility for prosecutions should be upon the federal authorities, and raises the issue of State's rights, suggesting that the States should be privileged to define the alcoholic content of beverages within a maximum limit to be fixed by Congress in amendment of the Volstead Act, motivated by common sense and medical opinion.

Director Frank T. Hines of the Veterans Bureau, it is announced, saves \$750,000 annually by cutting down personnel.

June 2.—The Moro prophet Akbara, who claimed



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HON. EDWARD P. FARLEY, NEW CHAIRMAN OF THE SHIPPING BOARD

(Although Mr. Lasker, who resigned last month, had succeeded in bringing order out of chaos in the Government's ownership and operation of merchant vessels, nevertheless Mr. Farley will find many difficult problems to solve. He formerly served as vice-president of the Emergency Fleet Corporation)

to be bullet-proof, is killed with fifty-two fanatic followers after a religious uprising on the Island of Pata which resulted in a battle with Filipino constabulary; thirty Moros were killed May 19; 800 surrender, but 200 remain at large.

June 3.—The Treasury Department issues regulations enforcing the decision of the Supreme Court keeping foreign ships "dry" while in American ports; American medical officers may issue permits covering "such kind and not less than such amount of liquor" required for the crews under foreign laws.

June 4.—The Supreme Court sets aside as unconstitutional certain laws prohibiting instruction in foreign languages to pupils below the eighth grade of public, private, and parochial schools in twenty-one States, notably Iowa, Nebraska, and Ohio.

In Iowa, a special election is held to fill the seat made vacant by Mr. Towner's appointment as Governor of Porto Rico, and Hiram K. Evans (Rep.) is successful over J. P. Daughton (Dem.).

June 10.—Albert D. Lasker, chairman of the U. S. Shipping Board, submits his resignation.

June 11.—The Supreme Court holds that the Kansas Industrial Relations Court has no power to fix wages in a packing plant on the ground of public interest, and that the Kansas Industrial Court law violates the Fourteenth Amendment of the Federal Constitution by depriving of property and liberty of contract without due process of law.

June 12.—President Harding decides to postpone the conference of Governors on prohibition enforcement until he returns from Alaska; foreign complications are becoming embarrassing to the Administration.

The Illinois House of Representatives sends a prohibition-enforcement repeal bill to the second reading by vote of 78 to 70; it calls for referendum on annulment of the State enforcement law; the Senate kills a bill repealing the enforcement law by vote of 32 to 13.

Henry H. Curran, who ran against Mayor Hylan for the mayoralty of New York, is appointed Commissioner of Immigration at New York to succeed Robert E. Tod, resigned.

June 14.—Chairman Lasker of the Shipping Board defends the trial trip arrangements for the reconditioned *Leviathan* by which 500 guests are to enjoy the hospitality of the Government; he says the total cost will be \$120,000, of which \$107,000 would have to be spent in any event; the statement answers partisan comments by Cordell Hull, Democratic national chairman.

Governor Pinchot of Pennsylvania, at the close of the legislative session, says he has fulfilled his three promises to the voters to drive out saloons, to keep the expenses within income, and to reorganize the State Government so as to get a dollar's worth of service for every dollar spent.

The Treasury stops the purchase of silver at \$1 an ounce under the Pittman Act, which expires after operating since April, 1918, to relieve the silver shortage in India during the war; the market price is now about 65 cents an ounce.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

May 16.—Soviet Russia announces that in the last six months 3000 persons have been convicted of bribery.

May 17.—Premier Bonar Law visits Paris incognito to consult a throat specialist, after a sea voyage to the Mediterranean.

May 19.—Chinese bandit chiefs in Shantung Province are reported to have received army commissions from Peking, with an offer to incorporate their forces in the army.

May 20.—Andrew Bonar Law, Premier of Great Britain since October, 1922, resigns because of illness.

May 22.—Stanley Baldwin, British Chancellor of the Exchequer, is asked by King George to form a government.

Premier Stamboulyk announces at the opening of the new Bulgarian Chamber that the chief aims of the Government are more moderate reparation terms and an outlet to the sea; Alexander Boteff (Peasant) is elected Speaker.

May 23.—Prominent Chinese officials are accused by foreign diplomats of being responsible for failure to free captives of Shantung bandits.

The Italian Premier, Mussolini, expels Captain Padovani and his adherents at Naples from the Fascisti organization.

Lord Robert Cecil accepts a minor post in the British cabinet; the rest of the personnel remains substantially as it was under Premier Law.

May 25.—Reginald McKenna (Lib.) accepts the post of British Chancellor of the Exchequer, conditional upon recovery from an illness which may last more than a month; meantime Premier Baldwin will fill the office.

May 27.—The Polish Premier, Sikorski, resigns following a vote of lack of confidence in the Diet.

President Cosgrave of the Irish Free State visits Kilkenny without a guard and moves freely about the district, proving a return to peace and order in Ireland.

May 28.—Premier Stanley Baldwin is elected head of the Conservative party in Great Britain.

Eamon de Valera's proclamation of May 24 is made public; it is a final general order of the day abandoning the military phase of resistance to the Irish Free State. . . . The Land bill, calling for \$125,000,000, is introduced in the Dail Eireann by Agricultural Minister Hogan.

May 29.—As the result of an Arab boycott, the Palestine elections to the Legislative Council are declared void.

May 30.—Sun Yat-sen is reported in defeat on the Southern China east-front; General Li Lie-chun is said to have left Sun and gone over to General Chen Chiung-ming, who drove Sun Yat-sen from Canton last summer and is now reported having driven Sun's forces from Swatow, Chaochowfu, and Kityang, near the Fukien provincial border.

May 31.—Italian Protestants in the United States ask Premier Mussolini to modify the first article of the Italian Constitution, which makes Roman Catholicism the state religion with mere tolerance for others.

June 4.—In Spain, Cardinal Soldevilla y Romero, Archbishop of Saragossa, is assassinated.

June 8.—Russian trade union leaders forbid local unions to continue anti-religious propaganda; the Moscow clergy under M. Krassnitsky, who heads the Living Church Council, call upon the clergy and parishioners to support the Soviet Government by all means.

June 9.—The Bulgarian cabinet is overthrown by reserve officers heading the active army, and all of Premier Stamboulyk's ministers are arrested; the new group includes all parties except Peasants, who compose 80 per cent. of the population, and Communists; M. Zankoff is new Minister of War and Premier, and his group is pro-German.

June 12.—In Bulgaria, 100,000 peasants are reported in counter-revolution against the "usurers" under Premier Zankoff; the peasants are led by Alexander Boteff, former President of the Sobranje, and Nedelka Athanasoff, former Minister of Communications; ex-Premier Stamboulyk is in flight.

June 13.—Li Yuan-hung resigns as President of China and flees from Peking; the so-called "Christian General" Feng Yu-hsiang is supposed to be behind the plot resulting in President Li's abdication.

June 14.—Former Bulgarian Premier Stamboulyk is captured by troops of the revolutionists; Alexander Boteff, the peasant's leader, is also captured.

The Belgian cabinet under Premier Theunis-

resigns in dispute over making the Flemish language official in the University of Ghent; the Parliament is also split, the Senate being opposed and the Chamber favoring the change.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

May 15.—The British House of Commons debates Russian relations, and the Government announces that the ultimatum will be extended to take advantage of the Russian offer to confer on points in dispute.

May 20.—Americans present bills to the Mixed Claims Commission for war claims against Germany amounting to \$1,479,064,313.92, the Government itself seeking \$366,113,000.

May 23.—The Russian Soviets yield to Great Britain on compensation for execution of Davidson and arrest of Mrs. Stan Harding; agree to permit British fishing beyond the three-mile limit pending a conference on the Russian claim of right to extend territorial waters to twelve miles; recall the Weinstein notes on religious prosecutions; and request a conference on all other points at issue.

May 24.—The American legation at Peking demands \$25,000 indemnity for the death of Samuel Coltman, December 11, 1922, at the hands of bandits.

May 25.—The British Embassy at Washington submits a memorandum questioning the right of American port authorities to interfere with mechanism, rations, or stores [*i. e.*, liquor] of foreign vessels beyond the cargo intended for importation.

The Allied powers agreed to the American settlement of the Rhine army cost; \$25,000,000 is to be allotted the United States annually for twelve years out of indemnity payments, from which for four years are to be deducted Allied current occupation costs, the United States to get one-fourth of the remainder; British objections to the plan are withdrawn.

May 26.—It is announced that five nations have protested against the Supreme Court decision holding that ships may not bring liquor within the three-mile limit; they are Britain, France, Italy, Spain, and Holland.

May 27.—In Mexico City, Modesto Lopez, a former Carranza army officer, is arrested for bombing the American Consulate on May 17.

May 30.—Chinese bandits in Shantung release more prisoners and consider an offer of payment of their men (former soldiers, unpaid) with employment on public works instead of reenlistment.

May 31.—A British note to Moscow agrees to a conference on territorial waters if "the other powers also agree."

June 5.—The League Opium Advisory Commission adopts the American plan of opium control, with some reservations by France, Germany, Great Britain, Japan, the Netherlands, Portugal, and Siam, limiting restriction to uses provided for in Chapter 2 of the convention.

June 8.—The Chinese Foreign Office demands an apology, indemnity, and punishment from Japan for the shooting of Chinese supporters of a Japanese boycott at Changsha, Hunan Province, on June 2.

Both houses of the Danish Parliament ratify the trade agreement granting *de facto* recognition to Russia.

June 9.—Japan sends four destroyers to the Yangtse River to reinforce the Japanese patrol.

June 11.—The Austrian Government loan quota for the United States (\$25,000,000, or one-fifth of the total) is oversubscribed in fifteen minutes.

June 12.—The eight remaining foreigners held captive by Chinese bandits in Shantung Province are released; the ransom is enlistment of 2000 of the outlaws in the army, with \$20 pay; Roy Scott Anderson, of Atlanta, Ga., was the intermediary between Peking and the bandits.

June 13.—Great Britain ends the Russian controversy by accepting Russian offers of a conciliatory nature; the Russian diplomats, Raskolnikoff and Shumiatsky, will not be removed, but their propaganda activities in the Near East will be curbed.

THE RUHR SITUATION

May 23.—German police and Communists riot at Dortmund, the disturbance starting with a demonstration by 30,000 striking miners; five persons are killed.

May 24.—Rioting breaks out in Gelsenkirchen, in occupied Germany, between Communists and citizens' defense forces; the French remain neutral.

Premier Poincaré resigns, but President Millerand refuses to accept; the reason for Poincaré's action was the refusal of the French Senate to sit as a High Court and try Deputy Marcel Cachin and his Communist supporters for sedition.

May 25.—Belgium submits to France a reparations proposal based on monopolies on tobacco, sugar, and alcoholic drinks in Germany, together with exploitation of German railroads, which are expected to yield 2,400,000,000 gold marks a year.

May 29.—It is reported that 300,000 German miners and 160,000 helpers are on strike in the Ruhr, with 70,000 men out in the metal trades; trained police are rapidly restoring order.

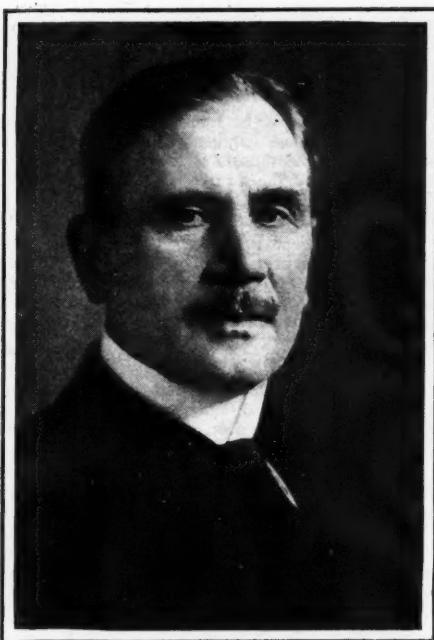
May 31.—Strike disturbances end with a roundup of Communists after forty deaths and 300 hospital casualties; three leaders are said to have been involved in Spartacists uprisings two years ago.

June 7.—Germany submits an amended reparations offer to the Allied foreign offices, again proposing an international economic conference, such as suggested by Secretary Hughes, to ascertain the amount and method of payment; liability is admitted, and the railway system is offered as security for a loan of 10,000,000,000 gold marks at 5 per cent. from July 1, 1927, securing an annual payment of 500,000,000 marks; another 500,000,000 marks annuity taxed on "the entire business, industry, banking, trade, traffic and agriculture," and 800,000,000 marks from customs and excise is expected to bring the total annuity up to 1,200,000,000, to start in four years, increasing to 1,800,000,000 marks; no mention is made of discontinuing passive resistance in the Ruhr.

June 8.—A French communiqué says Premier Poincaré will refuse to examine any proposition not preceded by complete cessation of German resistance.

June 9.—Lord Curzon, of the British Foreign Office, invites Allied discussion of the amended German offer.

June 10.—Premier Poincaré invites Britain to join France and Belgium in advising Germany to cease passive resistance.



HON. ERNST TRYGGER, PREMIER OF SWEDEN

(Who succeeded the Socialist Premier, Hjalmar Branting on April 20), after the Riksdag rejected the Branting proposal to give doles to unemployed. The new Premier was formerly Counselor of Justice, and is leader of the Conservatives. He believes in developing national defense within his country's economic means)

June 12.—Following the murder of three French soldiers, within a few days, 30,000,000,000 marks are seized in the Reichsbank at Dortmund as a penalty, and martial law is established at Bochum and Recklinghausen.

THE SECOND LAUSANNE CONFERENCE

May 18.—The International Sanitation Board is abolished, and Turkey agrees to establish an advisory health board by appointing three foreign physicians to prevent epidemics from spreading to Europe; \$1,500,000 is left in the treasury of the old board.

May 19.—The Allies agree to accept separate letters from the Turkish Foreign Minister, upon his refusal to insert in the treaty a recognition of the special character of foreign educational institutions.

May 24.—Greece threatens to leave the conference if required to pay an indemnity to Turkey.

May 26.—An agreement is reached between Turkey and Greece, in settlement of the recent conflict; Turkey withdraws her demand for indemnity for damage in Anatolia, Greece acknowledging responsibility but pleading bad finances; Greece cedes Karaghatch to Turkey with the railroad line running from Lule Burgas to Karaghatch; mutual restoration is to be made of ships captured since the Mudros armistice in 1918.

May 28.—The Allies accept as réparations from Turkey £11,000,000 Turkish gold, reducing their joint claims by £4,000,000.

May 30.—The Allies lose the right to judicial safeguards for foreigners in Turkey, the Turks consenting to notify foreign legal advisers of arrests but refusing to permit interference with trials.

May 31.—It is announced at Washington that Minister Grew, at Lausanne, has power to negotiate and sign a treaty of commerce and amity with Turkey.

June 14.—Premier Poincaré refuses to accept a compromise on payment of interest on Turkish debts to French bondholders in paper money for a few years until the principle of payment in gold can be realized; France holds this would establish bad precedent with debts from other countries.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

May 15.—The balance of trade swings against the United States for the first time since 1914, imports for March being \$402,000,000 as against exports of \$341,162,349; the excess of \$60,837,651 of imports over exports is the greatest in American history.

May 18.—The Cleveland Rural Graded School, near Camden, S. C., burns on the last night of its use, after being condemned; 76 persons are killed.

May 19.—Delmonico's restaurant, in New York City, closes its doors because prohibition and high rents have made business unprofitable.

May 21.—American army statisticians announce that the Central Powers, with an enlistment in the Great War of 22,850,000 men, inflicted 22,000,000 casualties on the Allies, who, with 42,189,444 men, were able to inflict only 15,405,000 casualties; the point is made that the Central Powers operated under a universal military training system.

In New York City \$125,000,000 of building operations are held up by a deadlock between banks lending for construction and 1500 bricklayers seeking \$12 a day for the next two years.

May 22.—The following busts are unveiled at the Hall of Fame in New York: Ralph Waldo Emerson, Henry Ward Beecher, Frances Elizabeth Willard, Ulysses Simpson Grant, Robert Edward Lee, Alexander Hamilton, and Abraham Lincoln.

May 23.—A New York City jury convicts the owner and twelve of the cast of the play called "God of Vengeance" on the charge of giving an immoral performance.

May 25.—Elbert H. Gary, at the age of seventy-six, declares in an address as president of the Iron and Steel Institute that the steel industry can not abandon the twelve-hour day for the eight-hour day.

David Friday resigns as president of the Michigan Agricultural College, to take a professorship in economics at the New School for Social Research of New York City.

May 26.—The Union Public Service Company, controlling eighteen utilities in Kansas and eastern Oklahoma, is purchased by Philip Francis, of Oakland, Cal., former Hearst editorial writer.

Lieut. Harrison G. Crocker, U. S. A., flies 1400 miles from Houston, Texas, to Mt. Clemens, Mich., alone, in 11 hours and 54 minutes.

Drs. A. S. Loewenthal and W. F. Lorenz, of Wisconsin, it is announced, have cured forty-two cases of paresis and two of locomotor ataxia by administering tryparsamid.

Frank A. Munsey buys the New York *Globe* and *Commercial Advertiser*, one of the oldest newspapers in America, to consolidate it with the *Sun*.

May 31.—The Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America appeals to 125,000 congregations of 20,000,000 members to support President Harding in joining the Permanent Court of International Justice.

The largest house on the New York Curb Exchange, Jones & Baker, is put into involuntary bankruptcy by creditors who estimate the firm's 9,000 customers have pledged \$7,000,000 of securities; this is the most spectacular event in the rigorous investigation of houses having membership in the Curb Exchange and the Consolidated Exchange.

June 11.—The Presbytery of New York licenses two preachers who refuse to affirm their belief in the virgin birth of Christ.

OBITUARY

May 15.—Rev. Joseph Odell, minister, editor and author, 76. . . . Dr. Thomas Neal Ivey, editor of the *Southern Christian Advocate*, 63. . . . Charles de Freycinet, noted French statesman, three times Premier, and academician, 94. . . . Dr. Arthur Gordon Webster, physicist, 60.

May 16.—George Jay Gould, financier, 59. . . . William K. McAlister, former justice of the Supreme Court of Tennessee, 72.

May 17.—Major Thomas Scott Baldwin, pioneer balloonist, 68.

May 18.—Orville E. Taylor Waring, oil mining and refining pioneer, 83. . . . Arthur Letts, of Los Angeles, merchant, 60.

May 19.—John Stewart Durand, authority on medical jurisprudence.

May 20.—Dr. Florenz Ziegfeld, founder of Chicago Musical College, 82. . . . William Sidney Barnickel, of St. Louis, Mo., who invented a process for precipitating salt water from oil, 45. . . . Dr. Hans Goldschmidt, German metallurgist who invented the thermic welding process, 62.

May 21.—Prof. David Duncan, English biographer and educator, 84. . . . Patrick Francis Gill (Dem.), former Congressman from the Eleventh Missouri District, 55. . . . Durri Zadah Abdullah Effendi, formerly Sheik Ul Islam.

May 22.—Elliott Woods, who held the office of Architect of the Capitol, at Washington, 58. . . . Elisha H. Talbot, publisher, founder of the *Railway Age*, 83. . . . Franklin Harrison Gassaway, journalist and poet of San Francisco. . . . Lady Constance Lytton, English militant suffragist, 54. . . . Capt. Alexander McDougall, noted shipbuilder who invented the "whaleback," 78.

May 23.—David A. Curtis, author and jour-

nalist, 77. . . . Henry Bradley, British philologist, 78. . . . Otto B. Halvorsen, Premier of Norway since March.

May 27.—Dr. Robert Longley Taylor, professor of Romance languages at Williams College, 61. . . . Clinton A. Galbraith, noted jurist of Oklahoma City, 63. . . . Henry Bradley, senior editor of the Oxford English Dictionary, 77.

May 28.—Joseph Wingate Folk (Dem.), former Governor of Missouri, lawyer and reformer, 53.

May 29.—Charles Wilbur De Lyon Nicholls, author, of Bridgeport, Conn., 69.

May 30.—Dr. Rudolph Hering, noted sanitary engineer and author, 76. . . . Camille Chevillard, noted French composer and conductor, 64.

May 31.—Claude Kitchin, of North Carolina, Democratic leader in the House of Representatives, 54.

June 1.—John Woodward, former senior Appellate Judge in New York State, 63.

June 4.—Charles Felton Pidgin, author of "Quincy Adams Sawyer," 79. . . . Benjamin Hopper, scientific explorer. . . . Simon Wolf, of Washington, D. C., lawyer and diplomat, 86.

June 5.—Rudolph Keppler, former president of the New York Stock Exchange, 80. . . . Alfred Pell Haven, editor of the *Sun*, New York, 66.

June 6.—William Whiting Nolen, noted Harvard tutor, 63. . . . George Munro, publisher, 64.

June 7.—Thomas Alexander Theobald, of St. Louis, Mo., paymaster for the Union Army under General Sherman, 101. . . . Dr. George D. Bliss, obstetrician, of Boston, 68.

June 8.—Justice Harry Robitsek, of the New York Municipal Court, who checked unscrupulous landlords in the housing crisis, 40.

June 9.—Rev. Joseph Haven Cowles Richards, well-known Jesuit, 72.

June 10.—Pierre Loti (Louis Marie Julien Viaud), noted French novelist, 73. . . . Edward Lind Morse, artist and author, 66.

June 11.—Rev. Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, noted scholar, Jewish orator, and philanthropist, 65.

June 13.—William Dennison McCracken, author, 59.

June 14.—Elizabeth O. Toombs, associate editor of *Good Housekeeping* and *Harper's Bazaar*, and political economist, 46. . . . Dr. Louis Bell, of West Newton, Mass., noted electrical engineer, 59. . . . Alexander M. Calder, Philadelphia sculptor, 67.



THE LATE JOSEPH WINGATE FOLK

(As circuit attorney in St. Louis, Mo., Mr. Folk in 1900 started a reform movement which culminated in his own election as Governor in 1905. He was the author of the Missouri anti-lobby and State-wide primary laws and many other acts of a progressive nature. From 1914-18 he was chief counsel for the Interstate Commerce Commission at Washington)



THE LATE PIERRE LOTI

(Famous French novelist who, throughout a career, maintained a connection with the navy of France and took an active part in two wars for the Republic forty-four years apart. He was an Academician and was adjudged by many the finest descriptive writer of the last quarter of the Nineteenth Century)

June 12.—Rev. Dr. Joseph Krauskopf, noted scholar, Jewish orator, and philanthropist, 65.

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SERIOUS SUMMER TOPICS IN CARTOONS



NAPOLEON POINCARÉ BEGINS TO WONDER

(As in the invasion of Russia by Bonaparte, the German industrial region of the Ruhr Valley is subdued enough; but nothing tangible seems to come of it.)

From the *Bulletin* (Glasgow, Scotland)



THE RUHR GHOST

POINCARÉ: "Who are you, and what are you up to there?"
GHOST: "I am the Ruhr-specter, and I am digging a grave for one called Poincaré."

From *Jugend* (Munich, Germany)



HUNGARIAN VIEW OF FRENCH FAILURE IN THE RUHR

FRENCH SOLDIER (to Ruhr Worker): "What are you groaning for? Don't you know that we are here to increase production?"
From *Borszszem Jánko* (Budapest, Hungary)



SQUEEZING THE GERMAN GOOSE

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London, England)



A SPRING CANTATA

CURZON (singing to the German lamb): "O Lambkin, O Lambkin, lie down with the beast . . ."

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[Lord Curzon, in stating Britain's reparations policy in the House of Lords on April 20, urged that Germany should make overtures to France, declaring willingness and intention to pay, and offering specific guarantees for continued payments]



THE FRENCH PREMIER AND HIS WAYWARD PUPS

(Having reared two unlovable pups, M. Poincaré is now at a loss how to manage them)

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, Wales)



THE "CHESTER" CONCESSION: OR THE OYSTER AND ITS SHELL

From *L'Ere Nouvelle* (Paris, France)

[Uncle Sam, having swallowed the oyster, divides the shell between Britain and France]



SISYPHUS POINCARÉ STRUGGLING TO GET A SLAB OF RUHR COAL UPHILL

From *Kladderadatsch* (Berlin, Germany)

[It is told in Greek mythology that Sisyphus, in the underworld, was compelled to roll a big stone up a steep hill—but before he reached the top the stone always rolled down, and Sisyphus had to begin all over again]



THE RAPACIOUS AMERICAN EAGLE

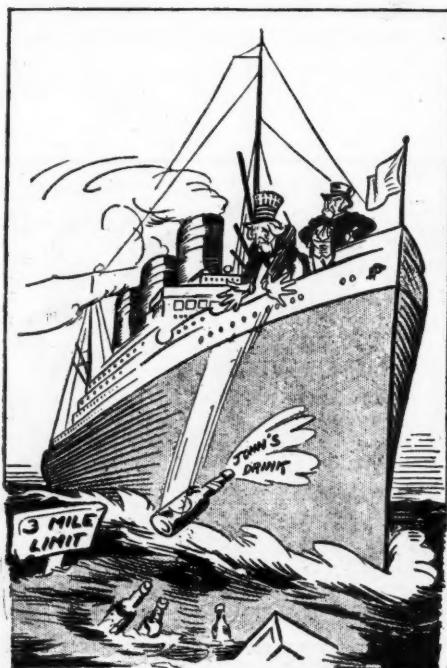
(A high-flying bird, who carries off vast concessions in Turkey)

From *Le Rire* (Paris, France)

THE BIRD "FANCIERS"

From *The Bystander* (London, England)

[The rivalry of American and French oil interests in Turkey, culminating in the rights granted to an American syndicate represented by Admiral Chester, has afforded an opportunity for this English cartoonist to leave out of his picture a portrait of John Bull, considered by many to be the greatest oil gatherer of all]



THE LIMIT

PROHIBITION FANATIC: "This is the limit!"
JOHN BULL: "It is! I"

From the *Pail Mail Gazette* (London, England)

"FOLLOW MY LEADER," WITHOUT THE FOLLOWERS

From the *People* (London, England)



(There is only one way to smash the American ring which has forced up the price of sugar, and that is for the whole body of British consumers to cut down their purchases)

From the *South Wales News* (Cardiff, South Wales)



THE LAUSANNE CIRCUS

From *Nebelspäler* (Zurich, Switzerland)

(Lord Curzon is the showman, and the exhibits represent the various other nations. Venizelos is beating the drum, and our own Admiral Bristol is using the megaphone)



DE VALERA: "I don't believe in this violence, Mick; let's arbitrate."

From the *Western Mail* (Cardiff, Wales)



"Hang the British Budget! Let's get on with the job, and in a couple of years John Bull will look lean beside us."

From the *Weekly Freeman* (Dublin, Ireland)



"ROW, BROTHERS, ROW; THE STREAM RUNS FAST!"—From the *Chronicle* (Manchester, England)



A PLEASANT SUMMER OUTING
From *Reynold's News* (London, England)



THE RECIPROCITY OF "JACK-IN-THE-BOX"

From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

(Canada's Minister of Finance, Mr. Fielding, has invited the United States to enter into a reciprocity trade agreement—a proposal originally made by President Taft in 1911 and rejected by the Canadian people in the general election of that year)



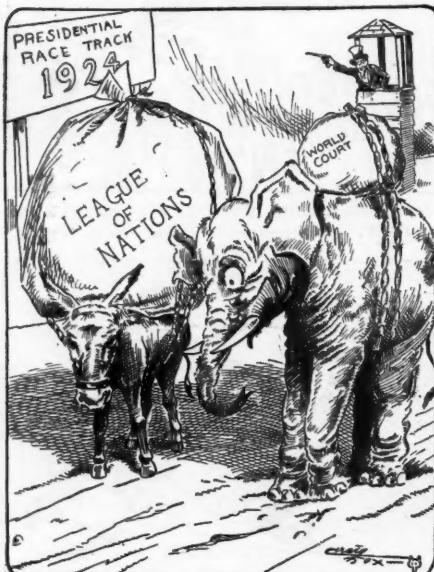
'WILL YOU HAVE A LITTLE RECIPROCI-TEA, UNCLE SAM?'

From the *Blade* (Toledo, Ohio)

A YEAR hence presidential nominations will have been made by both Republicans and Democrats. Furthermore, the country will have found an answer to the question now oft-repeated: Will there be a third ticket in the field? Of all candidates

mentioned, Mr. Henry Ford receives the lion's share of the cartoonists' attention, possibly because his "flivver"—long the butt of jokesmiths—lends itself somewhat to lampooning.

The business situation, with prices for labor and materials rising ever higher, has brought both warnings of approaching danger and perhaps just as many assertions that safety valves are all set.



THE 1924 HANDICAP RACE

From the *Democrat & Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)

A NEW ANIMAL FOR THE CARTOONISTS' ZOO

From the *Bee* (Sacramento, Cal.)



SOME PEOPLE ARE NEVER SATISFIED

From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



COLLEGE ITEM:

J. Waldemere Jones, '23, who expected to follow the profession of poetry, has decided to take up plastering as a career.

From the *Tribune* © (Chicago, Ill.)



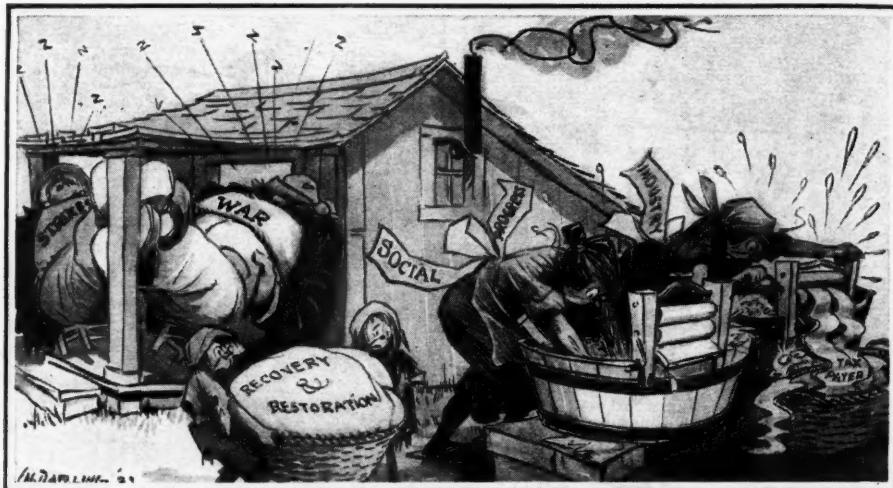
PERHAPS THIS IS AS GOOD A WAY AS ANY TO SINK THE SHIP

From the *Post-Intelligencer* © (Seattle, Wash.)



EUROPE'S ECONOMIC POSITION: THE CAR IS ALL RIGHT, BUT THE WHEELS ARE UNEQUAL

From *Echo de Paris* (Paris, France)

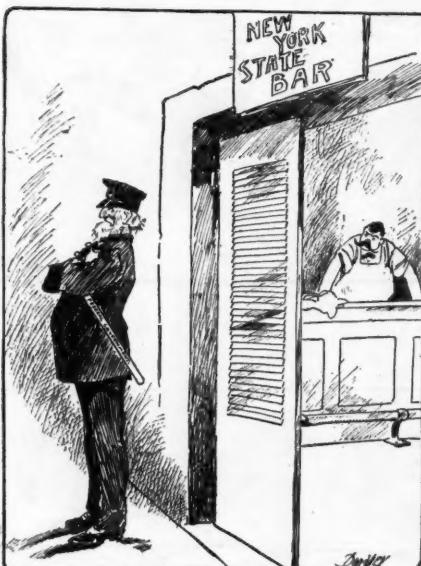


BY WORKING HARD MAYBE THE WOMEN-FOLK CAN PAY THE RENT AND GET THE CHILDREN FIT FOR SCHOOL BEFORE THEIR MEN GO ON ANOTHER SPREE

From *Collier's Weekly* (New York)

When Governor Smith signed the bill passed by the New York legislature repealing the local prohibition enforcement law, he brought the liquor question to the forefront once more. Opinion as to the ultimate

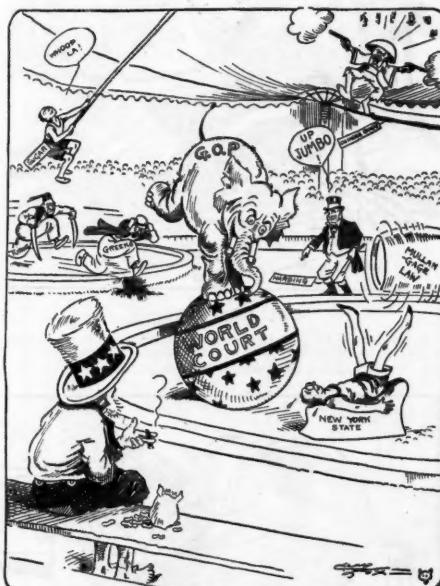
effect of repeal is divided, though federal enforcement is certain to be more difficult. Whether this is an entering wedge of the "wets," a loophole for light wines and beer—as some believe—remains to be seen.



UNCLE SAM, THE NEW POLICEMAN

From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

[The repeal of the New York State prohibition-enforcement law is expected to result in laxity on the part of local police]



CAN'T WATCH THEM ALL AT ONCE

From the *Democrat & Chronicle* (Rochester, N. Y.)

THE EUROPEAN ASPECTS OF BRITAIN'S CABINET CHANGES

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. BONAR LAW GOES

THE most interesting if not the most important event of the past month has been the resignation of Bonar Law, followed by the selection, as Prime Minister—nominally by King George, but actually by the Tory party—of Stanley Baldwin, remembered in the United States as the man who negotiated the British Debt Settlement.

The going of Bonar Law was the result of ill health and had been forecast and feared ever since he took office seven months earlier. The coming of Baldwin, on the other hand, had been foreseen by very few; and England now has at the head of its cabinet a man almost as "new" as Mussolini, although of quite a different type.

Of Law there is little to be said save in praise. He was not a brilliant man, he was hardly a great man; but he was able, honest, and possessed of the rare quality of inspiring confidence in his fellow countrymen and affection among his political opponents quite as much as among his own followers. Actual leader of his party in the House of Commons during the years following Mr. Balfour's retirement and preceding the war, he had been during the war years one of the most useful and industrious war statesmen, if not one of the most conspicuous.

Ill health led him to leave the Coalition ministry some time before it fell. There are those who point to the fact that with the departure of Law the fortunes of Lloyd George began to decline. But with the Tory revolt against George, Law had little or nothing to do. Baldwin and Sir George Younger were the men who engineered the fight, and to them belongs the real credit for freeing England and the world from Lloyd George, who had become a menace to world peace and had very nearly brought his country into war with Turkey, while he had practically shattered the Anglo-French

Entente and left Britain isolated in a hostile Europe.

It was, however, left to Bonar Law to deal the decisive blow which ended the Lloyd George régime. At the famous meeting at the Carlton Club late last year, when the issue of coalition or independence was voted upon by the Tories, it was Bonar Law's declaration against coalition which brought the thing down in ruin. Since Law was, himself, the leader of the Unionists, Lloyd George was bound to recommend to the King that he call Bonar Law; and the election which followed demonstrated that the country and the Tory party were equally weary of coalition and of Lloyd George leadership.

But although the rank and file of the Tory party were of Law's view, a number of the notable leaders—Balfour, Birkenhead, and Austen Chamberlain among them—had opposed the ending of the coalition, had supported Lloyd George, and, when their party left them, declined to take office under Law. The result was that although Law carried the country by a large majority, measured by seats in the House of Commons (there was no popular majority for any party), he was much handicapped in making his cabinet, although Curzon and Lord Derby were willing to serve.

Since that time, too, the pathway of Bonar Law has been thorny. Labor, wresting from the divided Liberals the second place and becoming His Majesty's Opposition, conducted an active and annoying campaign which in domestic affairs led to many difficulties and once at least put the government in a minority. Moreover, hardly was Law in the saddle when the French went into the Ruhr and precipitated a crisis, leading to the British decision to remain neutral while indicating disapprobation.

I shall discuss the relation of the change in ministry to European affairs in a moment, but it remains to note that the

succession of Baldwin marks the further success of that majority within the Tory party which rejected Lloyd George, rebuffed its leaders who supported him, and insisted upon a return to the party system. Had Curzon not followed George before the break-up, he and not Baldwin might have been called, although there was a polite fiction that since Labor was not represented in the House of Lords a peer was hardly eligible for Lloyd George's place.

This calling of Baldwin signified, then, that the men who had destroyed coalition and dethroned George were still bitter and that they not only held their grudge against Curzon—who had ultimately changed, and thus been included in the Law cabinet—but they actually prevented Baldwin from asking Austen Chamberlain to serve in his cabinet at all, though Baldwin was ready to do it and Chamberlain was prepared to accept. Instead, Baldwin called McKenna, who had served as a Liberal under Asquith, and made a semblance of seeking party unity by including one of the lesser figures from the group which had gone out into the wilderness with Chamberlain and Birkenhead.

It was patent that the Tory party was in no mood to go back to coalition and that the passing of Law opened no door to Lloyd George. Moreover, if the Conservatives were still emphatically hostile to the former Prime Minister, recent happenings within the Liberal party had demonstrated that the large majority of Liberals were in no kinder frame of mind. They were willing, to be sure, that George should return to their ranks, but totally unwilling to substitute George for Asquith or permit the Welshman to regain party control.

Lloyd George's friends had in recent months been telling their American friends that Bonar Law would not last six months, and that then George would be back in power. But, while Law was obliged to resign seven months after taking office, his passing only served to disclose the fact that George's stock was still falling.

II. THE EFFECT ABROAD

At home, then, the change in premiers left matters much as they had been before. If the breach in the Tory party was unhealed, the minority continued to give the majority its votes, thus maintaining the needed margin to control the House, while

the Liberal party remained divided and somewhat shaken by the appearance of McKenna in a Tory government. And Labor neither profited nor lost by the episode.

Abroad, however, the change was watched with anxious eyes in Paris, Brussels, Berlin, and Rome. Although Law had not marched with Poincaré into the Ruhr, he continued to hold the respect of France, which regarded him as honest. Thankful also for the passing of Lloyd George, France recalled that two of the sons of the new British Premier had died for the common cause during the war. But Baldwin was a new man and his policy was a matter of speculation. There was fear, then, in Paris—or, more exactly, apprehension. There was rejoicing in Berlin, although probably premature. And there was an appreciation everywhere that new development might be expected.

Now it is transparent that the real road to success for Baldwin lies in the direction of a settlement of the Ruhr War and the much larger reparations matter. There can be no real peace in the world until this ugly problem has been resolved. Nor is it less clear that the British, on the whole, have been uneasy and even dissatisfied with the policy of neutrality of Bonar Law. They want something done, and they want their Government to do something.

The great difficulty remains, however, to find something that can be done. Assuming, and it is a safe assumption, that Baldwin will undertake something—perhaps a preliminary reunion of the four allies, Britain, Belgium, Italy, and France, as the Belgians now urge—we may reckon on more active efforts on the part of the British Government and at least a temporary participation of the British in some attempt to restore unity among the Allies and find a basis for the adoption of a common program toward the Germans.

Yet the first obstacle which Baldwin must clear is the matter of interallied debts and the second that of security for France. The French position is crystal clear in the matter of interallied debts, and in it both Belgium and Italy concur. All agree that the problem of reparations and that of interallied debts are hopelessly intermingled. All three agree that reparations cannot be reduced without a corresponding reduction of Allied debts.

France has gone on record clearly in as-

serting that she means to get from Germany sufficient reparations to meet the costs of restoring her ruins; and, if her allies hold her to war-time debts, she will hold Germany for an additional sum necessary to discharge these. The sum total of these two claims, moreover, falls far short of the sum to which France is legally entitled under the Treaty of Versailles and under the agreement made in London in May, 1921, which fixed the total of reparations at \$32,000,000,000 and the French share at \$17,000,000,000.

If Mr. Baldwin seeks that reduction of reparations which is inevitable, he must first of all meet the three continental countries with a proposal for the cancellation of their debts to Britain. As long as Britain holds them, they will hold Germany. And, even assuming that Britain agrees to cancel, this leaves the problem of the American debts, insuring that France, Belgium, and Italy will insist on obtaining from Germany the money to meet them.

Again, assuming that Baldwin desires to end the Ruhr occupation, he can hardly persuade the French and the Belgians to retire now, unless he and Mussolini join in a pledge to go in with the French and the Belgians if the Germans fail to carry out any new agreement, and also agree that if at any time within the next few decades Germany attacks France and Belgium or France alone, British and Italian armies will automatically move to the defense of Germany's neighbors.

Now this is a pretty tall order for Baldwin to offer in his own House of Commons, where there is obvious opposition both to any cancellation and to any new obligations which smack of future involvements. England wants peace, but large elements in England want it without paying for it. Yet, on the other hand, if Baldwin is to win any support on the Continent, he must find some solution for the debt question. As long as the British stand on the Balfour Note idea, the French and the Belgians—and the Italians as well—will reject any British proposal.

And, by contrast, just as long as there is not unity of front on the part of all the Allies, the Germans will continue to hope for escape from all payment and the present desperate condition will continue. If Baldwin desires to enlist France, or if he desires to detach Italy or Belgium from the French side, he can only make progress by paying

in debts and security. The great question for him must be how far his own country and his own House of Commons will go with him.

Back of everything else, moreover, lies the ultimate necessity of approaching America, for no settlement of the Ruhr or reparations is possible while the United States continues to insist upon the repayment by the continental nations of what was borrowed during the war. And after his experience in Washington, in the discussion of the British debt to the United States, in which the new Prime Minister has had recently a very concrete if little cheering demonstration, he can have no illusions on this score.

Bonar Law's policy of passivity was much simpler, but in any event it could not have continued indefinitely, and we are fast approaching a final crisis in the whole German situation.

III. THE END OF THE MARK

Turning now to the German phase, one may recall that I closed my article last month just after the French and Belgians had rejected the German proposal of May 2. In due course of time, similar rejections came from Britain, Italy, and Japan, the British rejection accompanied by a rebuke from Lord Curzon, who reminded the Germans that he had urged them to make a proposal, but what they had actually suggested was less than the British had themselves proposed at Paris in December, only to meet rejection by all the continental nations.

The German Peace Offensive of 1923, then, failed as ignominiously as that of 1916-17. Driven to make some new move, the Germans were preparing still another note when the resignation of Bonar Law produced a new situation and led quite naturally to a temporary pause.

But the really important development of the month has been the total collapse of the mark. The inevitable has happened, and the policy of inflation has reached its logical conclusion. The mark is now worth less than the Austrian crown, worth less than the money of many of the small and economically weak states the war created. Actually, outside of Germany, the mark is without value.

Meantime the German debt has passed from billions to trillions, and every sort of fantastic incident and circumstance serves

to emphasize the worthlessness of the currency. In this collapse there is no element of surprise. It has been foretold frequently enough, but always the Germans have calculated that in the end the world could not afford to allow the collapse to arrive and that it would intervene and save them, not only from fiscal ruin but from the burden of reparations.

This collapse is due not to the payment of reparations but rather to the non-payment. So far the Germans have paid less than \$2,500,000,000 in cash, while they have taken in, by selling their worthless paper currency to the world, not less than \$3,000,000,000, almost half of which has come from the United States. Germany has fiscally ruined herself rather than pay reparations; she has sought voluntary bankruptcy in the expectation of preserving her assets beyond the bankruptcy proceedings.

Even the Ruhr episode has only hastened the end which was bound to arrive. Since the French and the Belgians went into the Ruhr, the German Government has been paying the Ruhr miners not to work. It has been lending money to the industrialists to carry on the fight of passive resistance. And it has been paying out its gold to purchase coal in Britain and iron in Spain and Sweden, as well as wasting more gold in a futile effort to stabilize the mark.

But the gold reserve is about exhausted, the outside world will buy no more German paper, and now comes the real problem; for the paper has become practically worthless at home and millions of workingmen are clamoring for wages that will provide food. There have been savage strikes in the Ruhr and in Saxony, Communist disorders which have been checked for the moment but which must serve as grim warnings for the future.

Meantime the industrialists, who have plundered Germany and manipulated the Government to serve their own ends, find themselves at last in a difficult position. On one hand are the Allies, demanding that payment which can only be made as the German industries are harnessed to the task, which means that much of the payment must come from the industrialists themselves. On the other hand are the masses, just beginning to feel the pinch and suspect the extent to which they have been exploited.

For three years this exploitation has been going on. Germany has been plundered, much of her wealth exported, the middle

class practically destroyed, labor underpaid, although paid generously measured by the face value of the mark, the outside world swindled by the sale of paper marks and much of the booty banked in foreign countries. All the industries of Germany have passed into the hands of the industrialists, who have planned and carried out the scheme.

In all this time, and particularly since the Ruhr occupation, German patriotism has been steadily stirred and spurred. Under cover of the propaganda directed at France, and while the thoughts and the passions of the masses have been concentrated upon invasion and upon the invaders, this plundering has gone forward. But always there has been the calculation that, before the abyss was reached, foreign intervention—British and American, or British alone—would save the situation and leave the exploiters in possession of their booty.

At the close of last year the industrialist crowd believed the moment had arrived. Germany was to default. She was to be declared bankrupt, and while the British and Americans restrained the French she was to obtain a moratorium. Foreign loans, the necessary steps to stabilization, were to be taken. And Germany was to come back economically with great rapidity, freed from all but a minor fraction of the reparation claims, while France, Belgium, and even Britain would be left staggering under the weight of their war debts. Actually Germany expected to get away with a smaller payment than the British are making us on their debt.

The occupation of the Ruhr interrupted this plan. There had been supreme confidence in Germany that France would not dare or that, daring, she would be promptly brought to time by the British. The game almost to the end had been played with Lloyd George as a factor. The Germans reckoned on him, and his fall was almost as great a disaster for them as the occupation of the Ruhr itself.

Once the Ruhr was occupied, then it was a case of surrender or fight. Still counting on ultimate aid from the outside, they made the fight. A world-wide propaganda against the French was set afloat. All the so-called Liberal elements in the world were exploited. Always it was plain that in the end the fight was lost without intervention; but there was the hope, the expectation, that intervention would precede collapse,

that propaganda plus passive resistance would win.

It would seem that we are now about at the end of the fight. The collapse has come. Much longer resistance will almost inevitably bring anarchy at home. The millions whose passions have been fired against the French, whose patriotism has been exploited to add to the loot of the Stinneses, will presently look to their masters for food; and the Stinneses will either have to sink their enormous booty in food to keep peace at home, or see their industrial plants and their whole edifice swept away by popular uprising.

Four years after they began their attack upon the Treaty of Versailles, the Germans are about where they were four years after they launched their attack upon France in the World War; and once more their supreme miscalculation has been England. She was to be neutral in 1914, she was to be their ally in 1923; but she has been neither. In both instances she has sought peace, but in neither has she been willing to accept German conditions.

In 1918, when German military power at last knew itself defeated, there was the panic-stricken rush for terms, which culminated in the Armistice of Réthondes; but peace came too late to save the dynasty or the monarchy. Now one must speculate on whether a similar panic is at hand, and whether a new surrender may again prove too late to save the new dynasty, the industrialists.

In 1914 it was the military crowd who were in the saddle; and they exploited the patriotism of the people, fed their passions with denunciations of the British, since it was the British course which had wrecked the calculation of the military men. When the British brought their Indian troops to Northern France, and the Germans encountered Sikhs and Ghurkas, there was the storm of protest against the use of native troops, against this new version of the yellow peril.

In 1923 the French have taken the place of the British. It was the French and Belgian invasion of the Ruhr which upset the plans of the industrialists, hence France is the target of all imprecation. And all the old fury employed against the British Asiatics is now used once more against the French Africans. The game is the same, the strategy and the tactics are the same; the difference is that it is the industrialist

who uses them now, and the French that he uses them against.

But the weakness underlying the strategy is also similar. In the end the German people turned against the militarists who had deceived them, exploited their emotions, and fired their passions. And exactly the same peril now threatens the new industrialists. They have still the chance to exploit British and European credulity, to raise the Bolshevik bogey, to ask that Britain and America save them from the storm which they have themselves loosed. Failing this, however, they are doomed. They have played with power just as did the militarists—just as shamefully, just as selfishly, just as blindly—and the results are at hand.

IV. WHAT MAY HAPPEN

Looking to the future, it becomes clear that the single real sign of change must be found in the coming of Baldwin. He is a new man, a business man, certain to give business and financial factors far more consideration than Lloyd George would or even Bonar Law could. He will have the backing of the "City" in London, of the great financial interests which appreciate the need of peace and the necessity of sacrifices.

Yet there is nothing to suggest that he will find it easier to persuade the French than did his predecessors. Poincaré, in a great field day in the French Chamber, demonstrated that the support of the French Parliament was overwhelmingly with him. Even his resignation, over an adverse action of the Senate, carried no connotation of weakening of France as to her foreign policy. The action of the Senate was over a domestic matter, and the President of the Republic plainly voiced the will of the country in insisting that Poincaré remain.

Nor outwardly is there any sign that the Germans are prepared to climb down. They still seek to alienate the British and the French even more completely. Their difficulty lies in the fact that they are not prepared to make an offer containing that minimum of promised payments which can enlist any British support.

If Germany should make a proposal which seemed sufficiently adequate to demonstrate good faith, my judgment is that Baldwin would insist, for Britain, that it be made the basis for discussion between

the Allies. But Germany is not looking for that way out, which has always been open. She had a far more friendly Premier in Lloyd George, who was eager to face the French with a reasonable German proposal and drive it down their throats.

The truth is that Germany will have lost her fight against the treaty on the day she makes a proposal which is good enough to enlist British endorsement; for even the British believe Germany can pay far more than she has offered, more than twice what she actually proposed in her offer in May. What the Germans want is to get British support for an offer so small as to free them largely from the whole reparations burden. What the British want is that the Germans shall make an offer sufficiently large to enable them to bring pressure upon France.

When Germany does advance a program which Britain will accept, then the real battle over reparations will be over and Germany will have recognized defeat. But when the British do enlist in support of a German proposal, then they will have to accompany their support of it by new terms to their allies, who are their debtors. Promise to cancel the Allied debts would to-day win Italy's vote and would have its effect upon Belgium. France, too, would be interested, although there would remain the matter of security.

It is not that the Germans are too stupid or too obstinate to perceive the situation; it is merely that they are not yet convinced that the fight against reparations is hopelessly lost. Just as in the war they clung till the last moment to the idea of retaining Alsace-Lorraine, Belgium, and the iron districts of France, they still cling to the hope of escaping real reparations payments.

Baldwin's problem must be to bring the Germans to a real proposal. He cannot hope to argue with France until the Germans provide a basis for argument, a thing which they have never so far done. He must strive to wring a real offer from Berlin; he must strive to bring about some restoration of the Allied front, some resurrection of the Anglo-French Entente.

Concessions made to France in the matter of disputes over citizenship questions in Tunis and Morocco, as well as a friendly compromise over disagreements with French policy in the Saar Basin, give manifest proof of Baldwin's desire to make clear to France his real feelings. It may be that he will

presently be able to bring about an agreement between all four Allied nations as to some common program in the matter of reparations, some common agreement as to how much Germany must pay and under what conditions.

But Baldwin cannot save Germany, nor save Europe from the evils incident to complete German economic collapse and possible anarchy, save as Germany herself is prepared to offer payment and accompany the offer with solid guarantees, payment vastly in excess of anything any German expects or is willing to consent to pay. To put the thing quite simply, the British are willing to save Germany's economic and political life for obvious reasons, but they are not able or willing to rescue Germany's purse and property as well.

The German difficulty, now as in 1918, lies in the fact that those in control dare not confess the defeat which they have invited. They are in precisely the fix of Ludendorff after the Second Marne and the disaster of August 8. Confession courts another revolution, with perhaps as great ruin for the industrialist dynasty as for the Kings and Kinglets who had to seek shelter in Holland and elsewhere in November, 1918.

So it is always possible that the resistance will continue until there is a final collapse in Germany, with anarchy and even some form of communistic madness. I do not think the thing is very likely, but it is possible. It may even be probable if the resistance continues for a few more months and Germany has to face a winter of horror.

In any event, the next few weeks must prove critical in the extreme. As I have said, we are at the culminating point in the war against the treaty, which Germany entered upon four years ago. Germany had made this war as she made the other, not without great skill, profiting by the absence of unity of command and unity of purpose, two things which have existed to a far greater extent than during the war itself. But after four years the most conspicuous outward evidence of the struggle is the presence of French and Belgian troops in the Ruhr and the downward crash of the mark.

Stinnes has not proved successful where Ludendorff failed, although both have shown themselves daring and even reckless gamblers with the treasure of their country. What the present leaders must obviously pray for is some intervention like President

Wilson's, some new Fourteen Points, which shall enable them—while capitulating in fact to force—to allege that they yielded to principle. In 1923, as in 1918, an unbeaten army, so goes the familiar legend, capitulates not to conquerors but to ideas.

All things considered, however, one may doubt if Stanley Baldwin is the man to propose a new formula, or Poincaré the man to accept such a formula. Once more time runs against the German, and again his defeat at the front is making grave difficulties for him in the rear. London has now taken the place of Washington in his hopes; but London in 1923, like Washington in 1918, is hardly likely to prove a satisfactory place of resort. As Mr. Wilson told the Germans five years ago to "see Foch," Baldwin can in the end only recommend that they prepare for Poincaré a proposal which even Poincaré must regard as a basis for discussion. Within limits, however, the arrival of a new man has produced a new situation, and at least Baldwin will have his chance; and what he does will command world-wide attention in the next few weeks.

V. THE GERMAN NOTE

The world is now discussing still another German note, made public on June 7—not in reality a second proposal, but supplementary to the original document of a month earlier. In examining this second communication it is essential in the first place to note the reason for its existence. Why did the Germans have to take a second bite at the cherry?

The answer is implicit in the character of both communications. The first was in response to the suggestion and even the urgings of Lord Curzon. His invitation seemed to the Germans an opportunity to insert a wedge between the British and the French. They assumed that it was required of them not that they should make a satisfactory proposal, offering something which might in reason serve as a basis of discussion. They argued that they were merely required to go through the form of making an offer.

As a consequence the first note contained only the vaguest of proposals. In reality it had the form not the substance of an offer. It was, as I indicated last month, a peace offensive, not a peace proposal. As such, it was rejected, not merely by the French and the Belgians, but by the

British and the Italians as well. The British said quite bluntly that they could not make any gesture whatever as long as the Germans made no real proposal, made no substantial offer.

As a consequence the Germans were driven to a second step. They could not very well increase the sums proposed, since that would have been a confession—very vaguely, to be sure; but they could meet the British criticism directed at the form of the proposal. They could make a supplemental communication in which, in substance, they said: "This is what our first note meant, what we understood that we were proposing; and since our words were not clearly understood abroad we will now explain them."

The second note was, then, in reality a new proposal because the first was no proposal at all. In the first communication the Germans had very vaguely hinted at paying \$7,000,000,000, but only \$4,000,000,000 was unconditional and the whole project was locked up with that of an enormous foreign loan. And the possibility of a great foreign loan, largely made by American capital, was patently out of the question.

So, approaching the matter again, the Germans abandoned the foreign loan, laid aside vague hints, and came down to business. They explained in some detail how on the basis of government monopolies such as railways, and with the assistance of certain German industries, they could pay, not \$7,000,000,000 but an annual payment of 1,200,000,000 marks, which is approximately \$300,000,000.

Now the difference between this and all other German offers is that it is a real offer. It is to be criticised mainly because it is too small. But, if accepted, it would commit the Germans to paying \$300,000,000 annually for a period of years, long enough to liquidate the principal of \$7,000,000,000 and the current interest during the period that the thing ran. In a word, just as the British have undertaken to pay us about \$170,000,000 annually for something more than sixty years, thus extinguishing principal and interest of a debt of \$4,600,000,000, the Germans now propose to pay \$300,000,000 annually to extinguish an obligation of \$7,000,000,000.

By common agreement outside of Berlin this figure is too small. The world view is that Germany can pay on a capital sum of

somewhere between \$10,000,000,000 and \$12,000,000,000, and that the annual payment within German capacity is between \$500,000,000 and \$600,000,000.

You put the thing quite accurately if you say that Germany offered to pay to all of her creditors, and as a total contribution to the reconstruction of the devastation her armies had wrought, just about what the French alone have paid and will have to pay to reconstruct their own ruins. When you recall the fact that in addition to reconstructing their ruins, the Allies collectively will have to pay some \$12,000,000,000 to the United States for war borrowings, the situation is plain.

Take the case of France, for it is the most important. France would receive from Germany \$160,000,000 annually. She would have to pay to meet the costs of her war reconstruction, ruins not pensions, over \$300,000,000. She would have in addition to pay another \$300,000,000 to Britain and the United States, unless there were reductions or cancellations. Thus she would have to pay annually \$440,000,000, where the Germans allege that their utmost capacity is \$300,000,000.

It is fair to conclude, then, that the German offer is just a little more than half as large as the minimum the Allies would accept, namely \$12,000,000,000, or \$500,000,000 to \$600,000,000 annually—which is the figure fixed by many American experts, notably Mr. Bernard M. Baruch, as the measure of German capacity. However, one would not expect Germany to make a full offer on the first proposal; and one can say quite frankly that were it not for other circumstances, the German proposal as amended, might serve as the basis for discussion, since it is a real offer.

But the other circumstances are manifest. The reason the Germans are making any real proposal is found in the fact that the French occupation of the Ruhr, together with the Belgian, has produced a situation which compels Germany to agree to pay something substantial. At the close of last year she had voluntarily defaulted, demanded a moratorium, and felt satisfied that she was just about to bring to a successful close her four-year campaign to escape all serious payments.

The Ruhr operation demonstrated that Germany must pay. Her hope that British and American intervention would save her from this has gone glimmering. Coercion

has led to partial capitulation, just as the French and the Belgians always insisted that it would. But Germany faces the consequences of nine years of bad faith now. She has made and broken many promises. She is now in the position of a debtor of notorious bad faith who under duress has made a proposal to his creditors, but a proposal unaccompanied by any guarantees. For Germany still insists upon the evacuation of the Ruhr as a condition of all payment.

Now the French and the Belgians (Premiers Poincaré and Theunis meeting in Brussels just before the German note was despatched) had reaffirmed their earlier agreement that German abandonment of passive resistance in the Ruhr was a condition antecedent to the reception of any German terms. This means, simply, that the Belgians and the French insist on remaining in the Ruhr until Germany had paid her debts, and that obviously if they are to stay and Germany is to pay, then the passive resistance must end.

Nevertheless, if and when the Germans abandon passive resistance, the character of the occupation must change. Instead of a considerable army, the occupation force can be reduced to the limits originally foreseen,—some experts and a small contingent of troops. It will then amount to what the French call control, meaning non-participating supervision, or a rather close system of observation. But given Germany's past performance, no sensible person can expect the French and the Belgians, having got thus far by reason of the use of force alone, to tie their own hands just because Germany has yielded to the force and made some promises.

The Germans voluntarily defaulted upon an obligation, and not an impossible obligation. What they were asked to pay was not a huge sum, but merely a sum within their capacity as measured by most experts outside of Germany, which actually amounted to \$500,000,000 annually. Do not be misled by all the talk about billions, about excessive reparations. It is true that the sum total of what was nominally demanded of Germany was much too large. But Germany was never asked to make payment on this excessive sum. All that was asked was payment to liquidate \$12,000,000,000, which was less than most of the American experts at the Paris Conference believed Germany could do without excessive strain.

There will be much discussion over the nature of the moratorium which Germany will receive. That she should escape for four years without any payment, while the Allies have each to meet their obligations, is patently inequitable. Certainly there will be an insistence upon the resumption of the deliveries of coal, and probably of certain of her payments in kind. But after all, these are matters of detail. We have still to surmount the main obstacles, although it is clear that we are at last making progress.

If and when Germany agrees to abandon the passive resistance she undertook when the French and Belgians occupied the Ruhr, we shall be within sight of a settlement. Then and only then will it be really possible for the British or the Italians to exercise any influence in the situation. Obviously the larger the responsibility the British, for example, are willing to assume that Germany will keep her new pledges, the less considerable the French and Belgian guarantees will have to be. It is not possible for the British to demand that France and Belgium retire from the Ruhr altogether. But it is possible for the British, if they are ready to join in later coercion in case of later default, to transform the character of the occupation so that it becomes relatively unimportant and all danger of any permanent stay is eliminated.

The point lies in the fact that as long as the French policy is based upon obvious rights and wrongs, that is, as long as Germany patently seeks to escape all considerable payment, it is impossible to accuse the French properly of any imperialistic or military intentions. Their policy can only be judged after Germany has given unmistakable proof of good faith and that time has not yet arrived.

Any French program of annexation or alienation of German territory would in my judgment rouse a world protest against France. But until France is convicted of oppressing a Germany honestly striving to perform within the limits of her capacity, no such protest is conceivable, as the progress of events in the last six months has shown. This side of a demonstration of real good faith, the world neither can nor will do anything for Germany.

The two German notes show that Germany has lost the Ruhr War. They may be compared to the manifestations coming from Germany after she had lost the Second

Marne and the Battle of Amiens in July and August, 1918. French and Belgian calculations have been justified, and the German effort to give their yielding the character of a response to British invitation should deceive no one. They would not have accepted the British invitation if there remained any hope of success in their own program, just as they would not have embraced Mr. Wilson's proposals, had they not realized that the war was lost and supreme military disaster in sight, a little less than five years ago.

As I close these comments, the European capitals are eagerly discussing the invitation of Lord Curzon to the Allied Ambassadors in London to discuss with him the new German proposal. Patently this means that Britain is taking a more active share in the whole question than in recent months. Coupled with this announcement is the not less significant report that Reginald McKenna, who was in Asquith's Cabinet and presently will be in Stanley Baldwin's, has a new plan for the settlement of the whole reparations problem. But all despatches agree that the first step must be German abandonment of passive resistance—a demand which has just received the powerful endorsement of Mussolini. Evidently the stage is being set for a new act; and it is a fitting moment to close the discussion of the matter.

Before this article can reach the reader there may have been many important developments, but it is worth while to bear in mind that nothing can change the fundamental factors. France and Belgium stand united, and committed to a policy which envisages occupation after settlement and abandonment of passive resistance by Germany before the discussion of any German terms. The British cannot influence the situation, save as they are prepared to match sacrifices on the part of the Continental powers in the matter of reparations by cancellation of sums owed them by these powers. Finally, no actual settlement is possible until the United States is ready to discuss some scaling down or elimination of the debts owed us by the Continental states.

But what is possible under British influence is a provisional adjustment between Germany and her European creditors fixing the condition of the liquidation of reparations, the naming of a sum, the agreement on the terms of moratorium and of annual payments thereafter, and, not least in importance, the character of the occupation

which will continue in the Ruhr until Germany has paid the larger part of what she owes her creditors.

VI. GRECO-TURKISH PEACE

At Lausanne, Turkey and Greece have agreed to refrain from a war which both threatened and neither desired, and in which there was profit for neither. The basis of settlement is typically Balkan. Greece admits that she ought to pay Turkey for the destructions incident to her invasion of Asia Minor; Turkey takes official notice of the fact that Greece is fiscally ruined and cannot pay.

So much for reparations, then. Greece cedes to Turkey a piece of land which lies on the west bank of the Maritza, facing Adrianople, and containing the railway station of the Turkish city together with a dozen or more miles of the Orient railway connecting Constantinople with Budapest and Vienna.

The cession gives Turkey a foothold on the west bank of the Maritza, but its real value is that it deprives Greece of the power to interrupt rail communication between Turkey and the rest of Europe. Actually the territory has no real value for Greece and is indefensible, given its relation to the Bulgarian frontier.

But note the truly Eastern touch to the affair. This territory, which is worthless to Greece, is of utmost value to Bulgaria. It was a part of the territory taken by the Bulgars after the First Balkan War in 1912, and lost to Turkey again in the Second Balkan War the following year. Then, only two years later, Turkey, under German urging, ceded it back to Bulgaria, as a reward for Bulgarian entrance into the World War on the Teuto-Turkish side.

Possessed of this strip, Bulgaria had a railway line on her own territory to the Aegean. But after the World War Bulgaria had to cede to Greece not only her frontage on the Aegean but also this strip of territory which had been the price of her enlistment in the contest. But, although she was thus deprived of territorial access to the Aegean, Bulgaria was promised certain economic privileges on the railway from her own territory to Dedeagatch. These privileges the Greeks have been very slow to grant; and now, by ceding this strip of territory to the Turks, they have placed a band of

Turkish territory across the railway, and the Bulgarians will have to arrange with the Turks before they can even approach the Greeks.

So Bulgaria has protested the cession; but her protest will hardly attract much attention. The world is tired of the whole Near Eastern mess and anxious to get it all settled. Questions of courts and Turkish debts are being rushed to some semblance of settlement. The danger of war in the Near East is over, the desire to get done with all discussion is dominating.

So, at last the Turk—as contrasted with all the other allies of the Kaiser—is able to liquidate the World War, retaining every bit of territory he held when he entered, including the *pourboire* he paid Bulgaria. True, he has suffered very large losses in Asia, although nothing like what had been expected. Moreover, as he has regained Adrianople in Europe, he has retaken Smyrna in Asia.

For the moment, at least, the map-making in Europe must come to a pause. Nothing of any real importance remains undistributed or legally in dispute. That is to say, while there are many decisions which have been accepted through necessity, not otherwise, none of these decisions is at the moment under discussion, save one little bit of territory between Czechoslovakia and Poland, over which much ink has already been spilled but for which there is no chance that blood will be shed.

Greece has escaped from the foolish war in which she was involved by Lloyd George, not without grave losses. She has been compelled to abandon all hope of Asiatic possessions for the present, and she has lost Eastern Thrace. But as a result of the events of the last eleven years she has doubled her area and her population. Today her area approximates 50,000 square miles and her population—swollen to be sure by the exiles from Asia Minor—cannot fall much short of 6,000,000. Thus, as the greatest Greece is still an unrealized aspiration, a greater Greece has been born in the last decade.

What is, perhaps, of more concern to the world in general at the moment is that another war cloud has been dissolved; and there is more promise of peace in the Balkans than at any time during the last two decades.

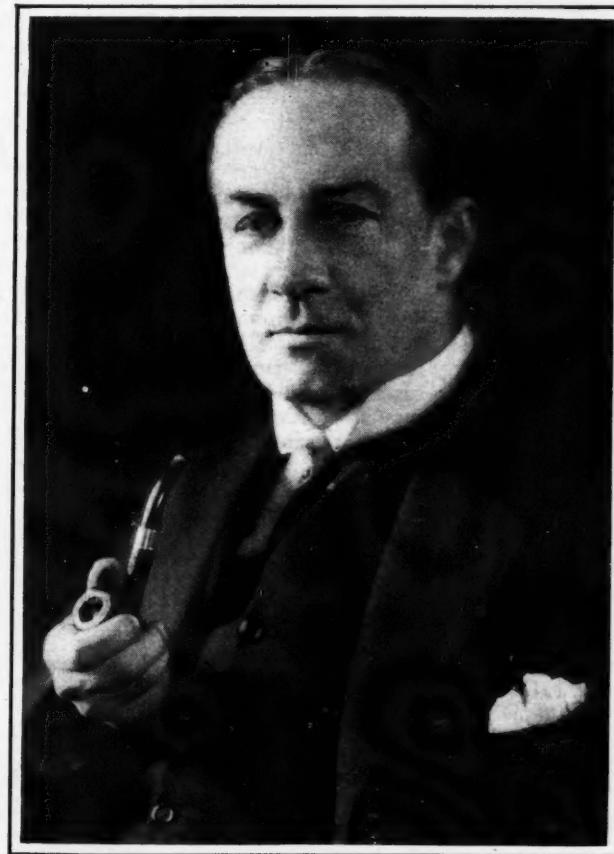
BRITISH PARTIES AND POLITICS

BY P. W. WILSON

IT IS, perhaps, only by taking a broad survey of British politics that one can appreciate the inner meaning of an event so unusual as the rise of Stanley Baldwin, a comparatively unknown man, to the office of Prime Minister, once held by giants like Pitt, Gladstone and Palmerston. On the old parties, the old leaders, the old watchwords, there has fallen the heavy hand of time. The old families, too, which like the Guelphs and Ghibellines of Italy divided offices between them, find that their often unmeaning feuds are entirely superseded. As in the United States, where the Cabinet includes a Hughes, a Hoover, and a Mellon, there is a tendency in Great Britain to select business men for the Government. Such a man is Stanley Baldwin. Such are several of his colleagues.

Some may still dimly remember that in 1891—how long ago it seems!—William Ewart Gladstone enunciated what was called the Newcastle Program. The Tories of that day denounced it as fantastic folly; yet in the main that famous program has been fulfilled. The Irish question has been settled. The Welsh Church has been disestablished. In all essentials, Free Trade has been maintained. Save as a curiosity of the colleges, the plural, and therefore privileged, voter has disappeared. Constituencies are redistributed in

equal areas. For men and women, the franchise may fairly be called universal, while women sit in the House of Commons and, but for the unconvincing legalities of Lord Birkenhead, would sit in the House of Lords. South Africa is autonomous and governed



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RT. HON. STANLEY BALDWIN, BRITAIN'S NEW PREMIER

(The resignation of Andrew Bonar Law, on May 20, resulted in the offer of the Premiership to Mr. Baldwin. Later he was elected head of the Conservative party. The new Premier is primarily a business man, and his rise in politics has been rapid. During the later years of the war he was Financial Secretary to the Treasury, becoming President of the Board of Trade in 1921 and Chancellor of the Exchequer last October. He is fifty-five years old. His negotiation of the British debt settlement, in January, attracted favorable attention in America)

by Boer Prime Ministers. India has a constitution which develops along Liberal lines. Egypt is regaining her sovereignty and Palestine is ruled by Sir Herbert Samuel, a Liberal of the Jewish faith. Another Liberal, Lord Crewe, is Ambassador in Paris.

Labor Comes to Its Own

While land is not nationalized, the big estates, already overburdened with mortgages, are being taxed out of existence. Moreover, the hitherto submissive agricultural laborer actually demands a minimum wage, whether by law or by strike, which is higher than the maximum wage of former days. Not only are trade unions recognized, but Labor in the House of Commons is the official opposition and Labor statesmen dine at Lady Astor's with the Prince of Wales, banqueting also at Buckingham Palace with the King and Queen themselves. Measures of which Gladstone never dreamed are accepted as a matter of course—Wages Boards to prevent sweating, Old Age Pensions, the feeding of children at school and their medical inspection, the insurance of the sick, the injured and the unemployed. On the citizen, there has been laid a responsibility for his neighbor, therefore, which is at once irksome and apostolic. It is true that divorce is still strictly limited by law; but, despite all the efforts of that ecclesiastical bachelor, Lord Hugh Cecil, a man may now with impunity commit the offense of marrying his deceased wife's sister!

The New Liberalism

It is the fashion to suggest that the old Liberal party of Gladstone, of Bannerman, of Morley and of Asquith was ruined by the war, that is, by Lloyd George and his coalitions. But the deeper truth is that, before the war and the consequent wickedness of Lloyd George, Liberalism had been for years rapidly achieving its own fulfillment. If there had been no Lloyd George and no war, the Liberal party would still have been compelled to pause for breath. Last year intellectuals in the party, on whom falls no hint of Lloyd Georgian suspicion, held a Liberal Summer School at Oxford, in order to review the field of future efforts. And this year the Liberal Summer School meets at Cambridge. The best thought of the party is thus in process of reconstruction. And men like Ramsay Muir and Asquith's son-in-law, Sir Maurice Bonham Carter, are

trying, as it were, to sociologize the caucus. Holding the traditional Liberal faith, they search learnedly for new and vital applications to the needs of the day.

"Government by Newspaper"

The plight of the Liberals is due, in no small measure, to the very success with which they broadened the franchise. In a narrow and middle-class suffrage, the nonconformists were an important element. On questions like secular education and temperance, they could make themselves heard. But with the admission of working-men and -women to the register, not all of whom attend church and chapel, the nonconformist, like the Peer and the Bishop, found himself in a minority. Years before the war, a generation had entered politics which was at least as familiar with the public house, the football field and the street cars as with churches, chapels, Bright and John Stuart Mill. Lloyd George has realized what this means. He could see that power was passing from the caucuses to the press, and he started, therefore, a system of government by newspaper. This was the method by which, in the years 1910 to 1913, he pressed forward his land campaign. The reporters, whom Asquith snubbed, were comforted next morning at breakfast by his nimbler rival.

The Strength of Conservatism

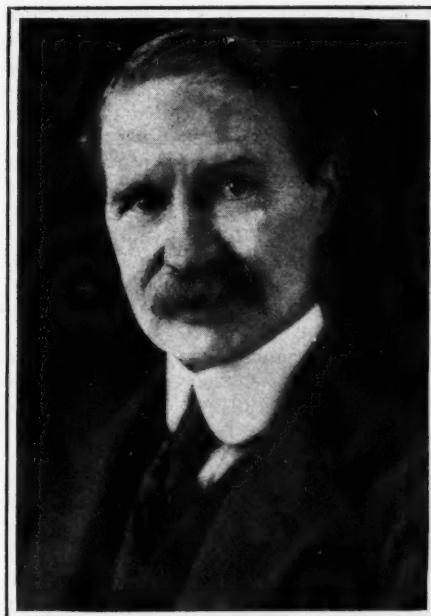
It is the Conservative party that, amid the chaos, furnishes Britain with a government. If the Conservatives have survived the deluge, the reason is simple. Conservatism does not depend on a program. It is not an army on the march but a garrison holding the fort. It is the eternal stand of the "haves" against the "have nots." To maintain their established church in England, the Episcopalians are mainly Conservative. The landlords are Conservative. The aristocracy is Conservative. These classes in the community are not, of course, a majority; indeed, it is doubtful whether, in the Conservative decade from 1895 to 1905, Lord Salisbury and Mr. Balfour themselves ever had the balance of individual votes on their side. But they knew what they wanted, namely the *status quo*, and most people who had anything to lose wanted that also. They had, too, the liquor trade with them, including as it did the public houses or saloons, numbering 100,000, every one of

which, during an election, is a Conservative committee room. Whenever the progressive forces in the country are apathetic or divided by dissension, the Conservatives have always stepped in and ruled the country on sufferance. This is what is happening to-day.

The New Voters

Amid these changes, an immense number of people cried, "A plague on both your houses!" Millions, wearied of war to-day, "take no interest in politics" and do not even trouble to record a vote. This vast reserve of uncast votes is a fact of disturbing significance. It means that in the electorate there is an unorganized democracy, attached to no party, trained in no principles and unaccustomed to any catchwords.

In this unorganized democracy there are included immense numbers of young people, for whom life on this planet began with the war and culminated in the Armistice. From August, 1914, they date their Anno Domini, and all that happened earlier is prehistoric. Here are worlds of votes for an adventurer to capture and the unorganized suffrage is reflected in the unattached member at Westminster. By this



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RT. HON. ANDREW BONAR LAW, WHO RESIGNED THE PREMIERSHIP BECAUSE OF ILL HEALTH

(He had served as Prime Minister seven months, from October to May)



LORD CURZON, WHO CONTINUES IN OFFICE UNDER PREMIER BALDWIN, AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

is not meant merely the "independent" members like Scrymgeour the Prohibitionist, Newbold the Communist, and Sunday "Anti-Wasters"—led by the too persuasive and now imprisoned Horatio Bottomley. The same constituency, namely Berwick-on-Tweed, once responsibly held by Sir Edward Grey, has elected first a National Liberal and then—when he is unseated for technical irregularity—his wife, Mabel Russell, the actress, as a Conservative!

In the regular parties, therefore, we find much uncertainty, and as he succeeds Andrew Bonar Law, the new Prime Minister knows that he is only a makeshift who, if he is to retain office, must make good. Several times was Bonar Law defeated in the Commons—and at by-elections three of his Ministers were beaten under circumstances of peculiar humiliation. Anyone acquainted with British politics knows that no seat is safe when Conservatives cannot hold their safe seats in London and Liverpool.

Among the millions who have been disgusted by the older parties are also many men and women who decline to join the

mere indifferent. Most of them belonged to the Radical or advanced wing of the Liberals. Others found their citizenship in the trade unions. Not a few were once Tories. Just as in the United States there is a demand, heard both among Democrats and Republicans, for a third party, so these miscellaneous "Adullamites" have flocked into the fold of Labor. They are not what Karl Marx or Lenin would call Socialists—nor of necessity do they have to be horny-handed sons of toil. The Labor party includes a Trevelyan whose uncle was Macaulay, a Buxton whose grandfather was among the emancipators of the slaves, a Ponsonby who was born in the Court of Queen Victoria and, as he says, "cradled in dispatch-boxes and reared on blue-books," and a Josiah Wedgwood whose ancestor made pottery that is sought for everywhere by the collector. Indeed, Stanley Baldwin's own son is accused of being a Socialist! And "Labor" is strong in the older universities of Oxford and Cambridge, where it is less the gospel of a class than the cult of intellectuals.

Composition of the Present Parliament

Let us see, then, how, in the actual House of Commons of to-day, all this has worked out. In 1906 Bannerman held a Liberal-Labor-Irish majority of anything up to 350. There were barely 150 Conservatives returned to Westminster. But five years later things had begun again to return to normal. The last Parliament in the old style was elected in 1910. And in 1917, when its end was near, it was constituted as follows: Conservatives, 285 members; Lib-

erals, 261; Irish Nationalists, 84; Labor, 37; and Independents, 3—total 670. It will be seen that the Conservatives had become quite the largest party in the House and that on a straight division the Liberals could only hold their own by means of their Labor and Irish allies. The overwhelming majority, won by Campbell-Bannerman in 1906, had, in fact, disappeared.

Then came the broader suffrage. It meant that in 1918 Lloyd George swept the country for the Coalition; while last year Bonar Law seemed to sweep the country for Conservatism. The present House of Commons is as follows: Conservatives, 347; Labor, 142; Liberals, 116; others 9—total 614. The Conservatives have thus a clear majority of 80 over all parties, which means that, on an ordinary division, the majority runs to three figures.

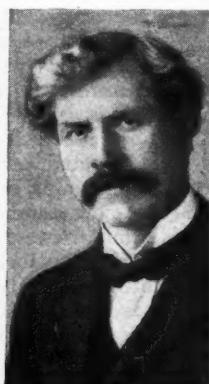
A glance at the House of Commons is enough to show the extent of the revolution that has taken place. The Irish Nationalists have—save for T. P. O'Connor, who represents a seat in Liverpool, and for one member from Ulster—entirely disappeared and, for the first time since the Act of Union, Britain as well as Ireland again governs herself! Asquith and Lloyd George—both of whom have served for years as Prime Ministers—rank behind Ramsay MacDonald—a Socialist, a Pacifist and a so-called pro-German, who has never held office, is not a member of the Privy Council, and yet sits on the front bench, in the sacred and strategic seat which is precisely opposite the Dispatch-box, where the dents of Gladstone's knuckles—more accurately his finger ring—are still visible.

No Peer Need Apply!

That situation has had already one important constitutional effect. Since the brief and disastrous Premiership of Lord Rosebery, the Liberal party has insisted that its leader—especially if he be also Prime Minister—shall sit in the House of Commons and not in the House of Lords. But the Conservative party hitherto has had no opinion on that delicate matter. When Bonar Law's health broke down, the obvious Prime Minister was Lord Curzon. He might be haughty. He might not be personally too popular. But, at least, he has experience and the grand manner. Nor was there obviously the slightest personal reason for preferring Stanley Baldwin to one who had served as Lord Salisbury's



Philip Snowden



Ramsay MacDonald

LABOR LEADERS IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

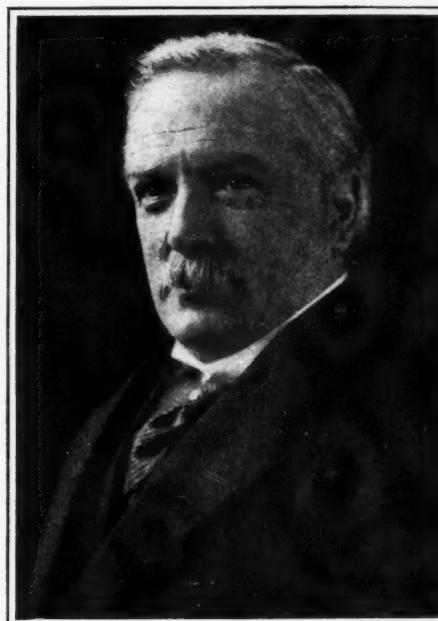
right-hand man and, in addition, had been Viceroy of India.

The one fatal objection to Lord Curzon was his peerage. Here, at Westminster, so it was argued, is an official opposition consisting of Labor, and not one single Labor member sits as yet in the hereditary legislature. The King dared not "send for" a Prime Minister who would never be able in person to meet in debate the leader of the opposition and his party. As long as Labor holds this advantage, the House of Lords must be, in very truth, the lethal chamber of any able man who—whether of his own free will or not—enters its portals. When Liberals like the late Viscount Harcourt and Viscount Gladstone accepted the ermine, they abdicated. And one reason why Bonar Law and Baldwin have come to the front has been the indiscriminate acceptance of disabling peerages on the part of statesmen who, apparently, did not realize that they could have no real career except in the Commons.

Minority Government

The situation is thus artificial. There are three parties in the House. One, the Conservative, completely outnumbers the other two. But, in the constituencies, the three parties virtually divide the votes in equal parts. Whichever party assumes office has thus a two-to-one vote against it in the country. It is virtually a fact that representation by the majority has resulted in government by the minority. Nor is it easy to devise any scheme whereby this anomaly can be removed. Proportional representation would merely reproduce in the House of Commons the same groups that there are in the country. It would not restore to Britain that two-party system in which the "Outs" are always ready to take the portfolios of the "Ins" and so carry on the King's business at home and abroad. British Constitutionalists have always told us that when politics are confused the Throne becomes more powerful. This is what has happened to-day. With the Parliaments of the Dominions asserting their autonomy and the government at home in the doldrums, all parties turn to the King as one fixed point in the sky. The extraordinary demonstrations at the royal weddings of Princess Mary and of the Duke of York are indications of this revival of ancient loyalties.

Under these circumstances, each of the



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HON. DAVID LLOYD GEORGE, LEADER OF THE LIBERAL FACTION KNOWN AS NATIONAL LIBERALS

three parties is split within itself. In each party there are those who believe that their party can, one day, obtain a clear majority of votes at the poll and so return to power with a true democratic sanction. And, in all three parties, there are also those who see no way out of the *impasse*, except in a new Coalition. Among the Conservatives, the "Die Hards" who want undiluted Conservatism will have nothing to do with Austen Chamberlain and Lord Birkenhead, who are suspected of wanting a new Coalition with the National Liberals—which Coalition would include Lloyd George. Among Liberals, the obstacle to reunion is not now the bitter memory of Lloyd George's "betrayal" of Asquith, nor his alleged failure to support Woodrow Wilson at Paris, nor yet his infliction of the Black-and-Tans on Ireland. All these causes of recrimination would be overlooked if Lloyd George were not suspected of meditating a new deal with the Tories.

Even Labor is not really united. Some members hobnob with the highest society and clearly intend to take office with any Liberal allies who may assist that object. Other members prefer to sing the Red Flag.

With all three parties, therefore, the question is, in essence, one and the same—namely, what shall be the new Coalition?

Will There Be a New Coalition?

It was, of course, Stanley Baldwin who helped to wreck Lloyd George's Coalition. But, as Prime Minister, Baldwin has quickly realized that a government based on "The Right," or Die Hard, element of his party may easily be isolated from public opinion. Bonar Law was nearly broken because his reactionaries treated the housing question in a manner too cavalier. The judges have administered these same Die Hards a sharp rebuke for their illegal deportation of Irish agitators from British soil. England, with her *Habeas Corpus* Act, is not ready for Fascismo. Baldwin is thus trying to hold his hotheads by means of men like Reginald McKenna—once Chancellor of the Exchequer under Asquith—and Lord Robert Cecil, who bring into the Cabinet their own Liberal atmosphere. This move is intended to convey the idea that a government, definitely Conservative, can yet pursue a path of progress rather than reaction. In other words, without being a Coalition, Baldwin wishes to behave like one.

Time will show whether he can succeed. The Die Hards certainly do not inspire such a policy. What they want is a tariff, with a preference for the Dominions which are to meet in an Imperial Conference. This fiscal project, if applied to food, will drive Liberals and Labor rapidly into a working partnership—as in 1906. Also the Die Hards aim not so much at concessions to Labor as at a defiant House of Lords, which latter will stultify the House of Commons, however many Prime Ministers sit there. This policy of trying to stem the tide of Labor by means of a second chamber is regarded as madness by Lloyd George, who advocates a rally of the middle class, to be led in fact, if not in form, by himself.

It is the custom to say in Britain that "the center party" is dead. One doubts that death. Balfour, Birkenhead, Lloyd George, Churchill and Chamberlain are not fools. Nor are they quiescent. And against them the Government has no

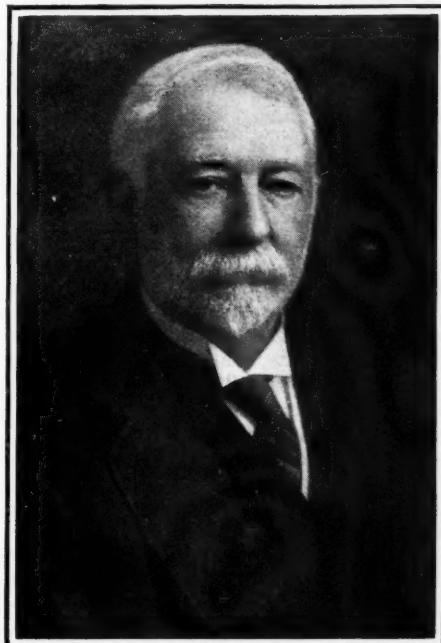
equally talented body of debaters. Whatever else the country wants, it does not want undiluted Toryism. Nor does it want undiluted Labor. The Snowden Resolution, advocating Socialism, was proposed in a pusillanimous speech. No one knows better than Mrs. Snowden, who has visited Russia, what has been the economic breakdown of Bolshevism in that country. On the other hand, there are infinite discontents in England. In the four years of war, the population there, despite losses, increased by two millions. Since 1920 nearly another million has been added. While the average per square mile on this earth is 35 persons, roughly, the average per square mile in England, apart from Scotland, is 700. A million are still out of work, yet a million dwellings are wanted. Wages have been cut, but the job is not steady. And while emigration follows, it can never be popular as a political proposal.

Britain and France

On the top of all this comes the sad unsettledness of Europe. The return of men like MacDonald does not mean that Britain regrets the part she played in August, 1914. But it does mean that she regrets the part played by the Allies after the Armistice. The war has not ended war. France is armed to the teeth and, against her, Britain is feverishly building aeroplanes which will contend for the mastery of the sky. This increased expenditure has to be undertaken at a time when Britain is finding money for the service of the American loan. And she is embittered indeed at the spectacle of France arming, as she believes, against her, when nothing has been paid by France of her indebtedness. From the settlement between France and Germany, Britain considers herself forcibly excluded, and she has manifestly developed a new relation with Italy. The determining question today must be, therefore, how Baldwin handles the French situation. The country is stirred, as seldom it has ever been stirred before, by the policy of Paris. But the very depth of the feeling suggests caution. The fact that David Lloyd George has said of France what others are thinking, does not mean, of necessity, that others will approve of his having said it so vehemently.

CANADA'S FINANCE MINISTER

BY H. B. MCKINNON



HON. WILLIAM S. FIELDING, MINISTER OF FINANCE IN CANADA

(Born in Halifax in 1848; newspaper editor for twenty years; Premier of Nova Scotia, 1884-96; Minister of Finance in the Dominion Government, 1896-1911 and since 1921)

RECENT widespread newspaper comment upon Canada's invitation to the United States to enter into a "reciprocity" agreement has again brought prominently before the American public the name of a veteran of Canadian politics—Honorable W. S. Fielding, Minister of Finance in the government of the Rt. Honorable Mackenzie King. To many younger Americans, the name of Mr. Fielding will connote but little; to many thousand others, whose political recollection runs back a decade or two, it will bring remembrance of the effort of President Taft, in 1910-11, to inaugurate reciprocal trade relations between the two great peoples of the North American continent.

Twelve years ago, when kindly regard for Canada prompted Mr. Taft's "feelers" in the matter, Mr. Fielding was one of the two

representatives of the young Dominion at the conferences in Washington. He it was who introduced in the House of Commons the trade proposals, and he it was who advised the Canadian electorate not to be lured by side issues from calm consideration of what was purely an economic matter. Unfortunately, perhaps, for both countries, the pour-parlers proved unavailing. Twelve years have gone by; but in the interim Mr. Fielding has not changed his mind. To-day it is he who issues the invitation, and in terms no less friendly than those of 1911:

"Whatever may have been thought and said and done at other times, there is hardly anybody in Canada to-day who does not feel that better trade relations between the Dominion and the United States are very desirable. . . . The desire of Canada to make a friendly treaty ought to be well known. . . . As to the willingness of Canada to have a measure of reciprocity between the two countries, there ought to be no question."

As statesmen go on this continent, Mr. Fielding sits among the deans in point of service. More than forty-one years ago, he was called from the editorial sanctum of the *Halifax Chronicle* to a place in the then-forming Liberal government in his native province of Nova Scotia. Within two years of his entry into politics, he had become the Premier of his Province and held that post twelve years, until 1896, when he was invited to Ottawa by Sir Wilfrid Laurier and made Minister of Finance in the new Federal government. This portfolio he administered with extraordinary ability and unparalleled success until the fall of 1911, when Laurier was swept from power and succeeded by Sir Robert Borden.

Beaten in his own constituency because of his staunch advocacy of reciprocity, Mr. Fielding accepted the situation with equanimity. He returned, without a moment's hesitation, to his first love; and it was from an editorial chair in the office of the *Journal of Commerce*, Montreal, that Mr. Mackenzie King had to draw him when, in 1921, he invited the Nova Scotian journalist to resume his old portfolio of Finance in the new Liberal administration.

That invitation, may the writer be permitted to state, was not an easy one to extend; scarcely less delicate was the matter of its acceptance. A youthful Premier sought a first lieutenant, and sought him in a septuagenarian. Youth called to age; in a sense, the victor to the vanquished. For Mr. Fielding, veteran of forty years in the dusty arena of politics, there was no glamor in the prospect. Acceptance meant for him merely the return to extremely onerous duty, with no new honors; it meant service under the young man who, shortly before, had won from him, in open convention, the fight for party leadership. Well might he have rested on his laurels, already bright enough, and abundant; well might he—on the score of age alone—have declined the heavy task of Treasury guardianship and solaced himself with the well-grounded hope of an early translation to a life-long sinecure in the Senate. Many a man of poorer fiber, smarting under remembrance that Youth had been enthroned, would have sulked in his tent or have accepted, with a show of condescension, some equivalent honor lacking in responsibility to the State. But not the Nova Scotian.

Fielding came. More than that, he "stuck"; and a few weeks ago brought down in the Canadian House his seventeenth Budget—thereby creating for Canada (and probably for the Empire) a parliamentary record that will stand for many a day. A feature of that Budget was its increase in the measure of tariff preference to Great Britain; an enlargement of the scope of the original "British Preference" first introduced by the same gentleman in 1897, the year of the diamond jubilee of the late Queen Victoria.

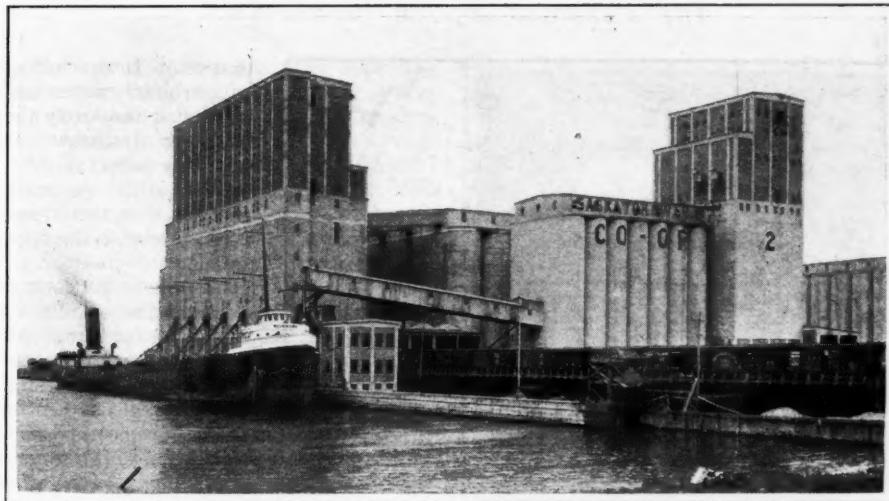
Still actively in harness at seventy-five years of age, Mr. Fielding is one of the striking figures of Parliament. White-haired and slightly stoop-shouldered, his appearance is in keeping with his years; but the same cannot be said of his demeanor. In spirit he is as young as the youngest back-bencher; as irrepressible in debate as the most boyish legislator from Quebec, that home of youthful parliamentarians. Probably it is not too much to say that he is the most universally-revered member of the House, irrespective altogether of party affiliations.

His oratory has lost nothing in effectiveness with the flux of time, and there is still

a nimble agility to the Fielding mind that is the terror of would-be interrupters. His style is terse, direct, and forceful, with no effort at flowing periods and no attempt at fine effects. He is essentially the Editor in politics and applies rigidly to himself the old newspaper dictum: "Boil it down." Strangely enough—for one who has been all his life a journalist—he does not gather to his bosom the parliamentary correspondents. Mr. Fielding is, now as ever, the Sphinx of the Cabinet, the kindly old gentleman who has ever a friendly word or a pat on the shoulder for his younger colleagues of the Press Gallery but "nothing to say" for the edification of their readers.

There were many in Canada who said, when Laurier's Finance Minister returned to the cares and worries of politics eighteen months ago, that he would make an appearance in the House, bring down one Budget "for old times' sake," and leave the stage to some younger man. Not so. The Fielding of to-day is saying nothing, as yet, of an early retirement. Five months of last year he spent with Hon. Ernest Lapointe at the conferences of the League of Nations, taking therefrom sufficient time to negotiate a new trade treaty with the French Republic. He returned to his own land in order to attend the present session of Parliament; at time of writing, this has been in progress for more than four months, and for not one hour of that time has he absented himself from the duties of his department.

And it may be that the world—and the United States in particular—will hear more of Mr. Fielding in the years that are to come. One of these days Washington is going to open its morning paper to find that there has been added to its diplomatic corps a newcomer—the Ambassador from Canada. That official may prove to be none other than the Hon. William Stevens Fielding. Certain it is that, when time for the appointment comes—provided, of course, that it be in the lifetime of a Liberal régime—the post will not be filled before the "little grey man" has been asked whether or not it be to his liking. It is said by those who should know best, that Mr. Fielding is not anxious for such a place in the sun; that, after a busy life he longs most for rest. Thousands of his fellow-countrymen will hope that, should opportunity offer, he will decide to crown a half-century of public service by being the first to act as Canada's Ambassador at the Court of "Uncle Sam."



THE TERMINAL ELEVATOR AT PORT ARTHUR, ON LAKE SUPERIOR, OWNED BY THE SASKATCHEWAN CO-OPERATIVE ELEVATOR COMPANY

(This is the second largest elevator in the world, with a capacity of more than six million bushels of grain. Port Arthur is the Canadian wheat-shipping point on the Great Lakes, which corresponds with the American center at Duluth)

A FARM CRISIS IN WESTERN CANADA

BY J. H. HASLAM

WESTERN Canada is now suffering from the after-effects of one of the greatest booms which history records. From 1900 to 1912 this region had greater development, and more acres were brought under the plow, than any other territory of like area in any period of its growth. People flocked into the country from Europe and the United States. Railways were built at an unprecedented rate. Cities, towns, and villages sprang up on the prairies as if by magic. Hundreds of millions of dollars were brought into the country for construction purposes during every one of those years.

Credit was easy and the settler, after "proving up" on his homestead, mortgaged it to the limit and on a valuation—low, it is true, when the productive value of the land was considered—higher than he could sell it for now. Interest rates were high but crops were good, and everything went merrily and prosperously on. Everyone borrowed: the provinces, cities, towns, villages, school districts, business and professional men. It was a great spree.

Now, there is the morning after and the consequent headache. It is no use trying to conceal the very apparent fact that business is not good in the three prairie provinces of western Canada at the present time, and it is hard to tell why. The crops last year will bring in half a billion dollars in cash; and it is doubtful if that much money was distributed in any one year of the boom period, counting all the money spent for railway building and improvements of every sort as well as that received from the farms. People cannot understand it. If they had been told that without adding to their numbers they would be able to sell over \$500,000,000 worth of products annually, they would have thought it impossible; but if convinced of it there is no doubt that debts would have been still greater.

The Farmer in Politics

Taxes have more than doubled in the last ten years. Implements are higher by 60 per cent. Food, clothing, building material, and everything that goes into the cost of producing crops have increased more than



THE PROVINCES OF WESTERN CANADA

the increase in the price that the farmer receives for what he has to sell. There is, in consequence, much dissatisfaction among the farmers, and it has manifested itself in no uncertain way.

At the federal election held in the autumn of 1921, the prairie farmers sent an almost solid delegation to Ottawa. Out of forty members, the Progressives—as the farmer party is called—sent thirty-six to Parliament. The farmers' party made nearly a clean sweep of the local election in Alberta in the same year, and a farmer government is in power in Manitoba. In Saskatchewan, the Liberal government was able, by anticipating the storm, to snatch a verdict early in 1921, but the Conservative party was put out of existence. The only opposition in the Saskatchewan legislature is that of the Progressives, who comprise about one-fourth of the house. It is hard to say what the fate of the present government there would be if an election took place under the existing conditions. Many think that it would meet the fate of the other prairie governments.

The Wheat Pool

The great all-absorbing political and economic question before the people of western Canada is wheat-marketing. In the year 1919, under war legislation, a wheat board was created for the purpose of handling the wheat crop of

that year. It was clothed with arbitrary power and controlled absolutely the handling of wheat. It was unpopular at first, as the initial payment was less than the farmer could receive in the open market. Whether by good luck or good management, the board got a high price for wheat and paid a large amount to the farmers in addition to the initial payment in the way of a participation certificate. It became immensely popular with

the farmers, and there has been an incessant demand for another wheat board.

Parliament passed the necessary legislation during the early part of 1922; but there was some constitutional doubt as to whether it had the power to clothe the board with authority to make a compulsory pool function. The provincial legislatures of Saskatchewan and Alberta were called in special session to pass enabling legislation and to assume responsibility for guaranteeing the advances made to the pool by the banks. The federal government refused to do this, as business interests were strongly opposed to the idea of a wheat pool and there was general opposition from all the other provinces in the Dominion. It was asserted that the 1919 pool made the price for flour too high and the price of feed, which the farmers in eastern Canada need

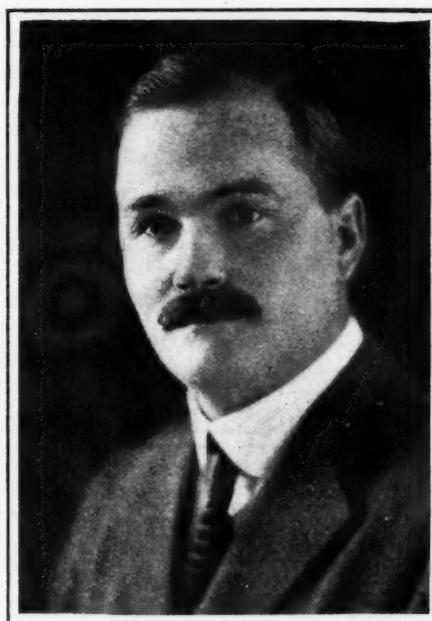


NEARLY FOUR HUNDRED LOCAL GRAIN ELEVATORS ARE OPERATED BY THE CO-OPERATIVE FARMERS' ASSOCIATION OF SASKATCHEWAN

for their stock, impossible. The Manitoba Government did not sanction the wheat pool in 1922; it was in the throes of an election which resulted in its defeat.

While the appointment of the personnel of the wheat board lay with the federal government, the governments of Saskatchewan and Alberta were asked to nominate men. It was found impossible to get what were considered suitable men to undertake the management of the pool. The grain trade was opposed to the idea. It was felt that whether the pool would be of any benefit to the farmers or not, it would be the death of the grain trade. There was consequently no wheat pool in 1922, and the farmers were compelled to take about eighty cents per bushel for their wheat, which was, in many cases, below cost of production.

The agitation for the wheat board continued stronger than ever. All the organized farmers' conventions held last winter passed unanimous resolutions in favor of the compulsory pool. The legislatures of Saskatchewan and Alberta reenacted the enabling legislation of 1922, and the Parliament at Ottawa renewed the former legislation. The farmer legislature of Manitoba did not pass the wheat-board legislation, although it was demanded in no uncertain way by the farmers in convention. The Treasurer of the province, who was taken from the Grain Exchange, voted against the measure, as did also the Minister of Agriculture. The Conservative and Liberal members of the legislature combined against it. So the pool has to function without the compulsory feature so far as Manitoba is concerned. The Manitoba Government, however, is making the necessary guarantees for those in Manitoba who voluntarily go into the pool.



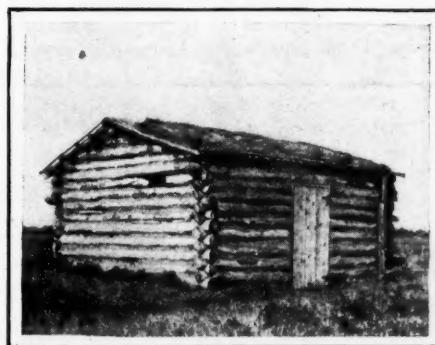
HON. CHARLES A. DUNNING, PREMIER OF SASKATCHEWAN

(Mr. Dunning was born in England thirty-eight years ago, and has lived in Canada for twenty-one years. He was active in the grain-growing movement and became the first manager of the Saskatchewan Co-operative Elevator Company. He was made Treasurer of his province in 1916, and last year was chosen Premier of Saskatchewan)

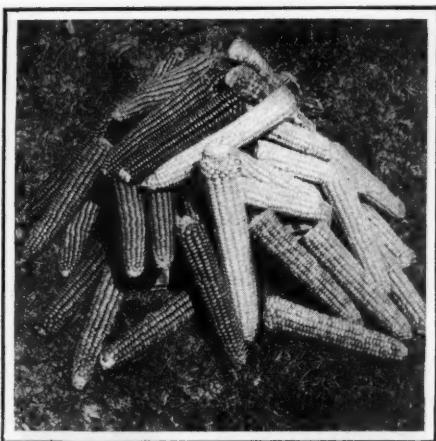
The same difficulty is occurring in connection with personnel this year as last. No prominent grain man up to the present has expressed his willingness to assume the direction of the pool, which will in all probability have the handling of between three and four hundred million bushels of wheat, if it functions. But the whole thing is in the lap of the gods. It will thus be seen that the bed of the governmental authorities in western Canada is not one of roses.

A Business Man in Politics

The Hon. Charles A. Dunning, Premier of Saskatchewan, is one of two or three outstanding men in the Liberal party in Canada. He was born in Leicester, England, thirty-eight years ago. He left school at eleven years of age and was employed as an errand boy in an office, later becoming an apprentice to an engineering firm. He came to Canada at the age of seventeen, took up a homestead, and was active from the first in the local grain-growers' association. He was sent as a delegate to the



MR. DUNNING'S FIRST SHACK ON THE PRAIRIE



CORN GROWN IN SASKATCHEWAN

(The magnitude of the wheat crop of western Canada is widely known; and now the farmers are increasing their acreage of corn)

annual convention some years later, and as a result of a remarkably lucid and convincing speech delivered in connection with a government hail-insurance scheme, became a marked man in the grain-growers' movement in western Canada.

Mr. Dunning took an active part in the formation of the Saskatchewan Coöperative Elevator Company and was its first manager. Under his direction, it became the largest grain-handling company in the world, doing business directly with farmers. It handled 45,000,000 bushels of wheat in 1915. It has now country storage for about 120,000,000 bushels of grain, with 380 elevators. It has the second largest terminal elevator in the world, at Port Arthur, on Lake Superior, with a capacity of over 6,000,000 bushels, and has been exceedingly prosperous.

In 1916 Mr. Dunning resigned the lucrative position of general manager of the Saskatchewan Coöperative Elevator Com-

pany and became Provincial Treasurer of Saskatchewan. On the resignation of W. M. Martin in 1922, to become a Justice of the Court of Appeal in Saskatchewan, he became Premier of the province. When the Martin government appealed to the people in 1921, at a general election, it disclaimed any association with the Liberal party in Canada, so that it could not be strictly considered a Liberal government. Mr. Dunning, on his accession to power, proclaimed himself a Liberal and in sympathy with the federal Liberal party. He supported its candidates at the election held a short time previously, and, for better or worse, has identified himself with the Liberal party. This required courage, for he had come to the front through the farmers' movement.

Mr. Dunning is a conspicuous example of the business man in politics. His methods are direct, sharp, decisive, and some say a little arbitrary. Certainly he dominates the legislature. He is personally very popular. While not having much of the education of the schools, he has succeeded, through industry and hard work, in becoming well educated. He is a clear, forceful, and convincing speaker, using rugged but correct English. Unlike the two other prairie Premiers, the situation he finds was created by his own political party, as the Liberals have been in power since the province was created in 1906. He is wrestling bravely with the situation as he found it, giving a good, careful, economical administration. The "overhead" he can not control, but expenditure has been curtailed in many directions. He is in the happy position of never having had a deficit of any consequence in his budgets.

Normally, Saskatchewan is strongly Liberal. Mr. Dunning is perhaps more completely the leader of his party, in Saskatchewan, than any other Liberal leader in



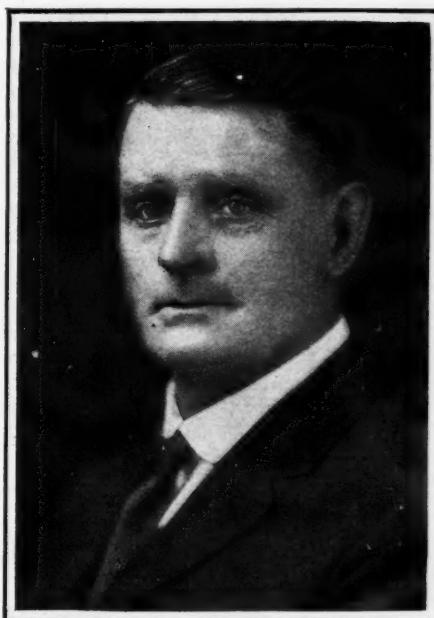
A MODERN CANADIAN FARMER'S HOME, GARAGE, AND BARNs

Canada is in his own province. In the peculiar position of politics in Canada, if Mr. Dunning should succeed in getting a considerable number of Liberals elected in the next federal contest, he would more than likely be the leader of the Liberal party in federal affairs, and probably would be the next Prime Minister of Canada.

Premier Greenfield of Alberta

When the farmers' Progressive party swept Alberta in the election of 1921, none of the members elected had any political experience, nor could they agree among themselves as to a leader. They went outside of their number and selected Herbert Greenfield. He was born in England fifty-two years ago, and came to Canada in the steerage. After working as a farm-hand in Ontario, he came to Alberta fifteen years ago and prospered as a farmer. He took an active part in all public matters and became identified with the Progressive cause but in a private capacity.

Premier Greenfield is not spectacular in his methods. He is of the plodding, safe,



HON. HERBERT GREENFIELD, PREMIER OF ALBERTA

(Mr. Greenfield was born in England fifty-two years ago, and has lived in Alberta for the past fifteen years. In 1921 the Farmers' party, successful in the provincial election, chose him for the office of Premier)



HON. JOHN BRACKEN, PREMIER OF MANITOBA

(Mr. Bracken, of all the four premiers of western provinces, is the only one who was born in Canada. College-educated, he became interested in better seed and dry-farming, taught at the University of Saskatchewan, and accepted the office of president of Manitoba Agricultural College. Last year, when the Farmers' party was successful at the polls, he was chosen Premier)

conservative kind. He inherited a peck of trouble. Alberta budgets refused to balance, and the debt of the province was enormous, although it is one of the wealthiest provinces of Canada, naturally. It has experienced three or four dry years with comparatively poor grain crops. Cattle are one of the principal products of the farm, and the slump in the price and subsequent duty placed on cattle going into the United States has had a disastrous effect on many farmers. The farmer government of Alberta has not been able, up to the present time, to afford the relief expected of it, and there is consequently disappointment.

Manitoba's Non-Political Leader

The same condition of affairs obtained in Manitoba after the election held last summer. The farmer Progressive party was the largest group in the legislature, having a clear majority. The members could not agree among themselves as to who should be the greater. They selected John Bracken to be Premier. He was the president of the Manitoba Agricultural College, and had considerable reputation as a writer on agri-

cultural subjects. He had had no experience whatever in politics, nor apparently taste for political life. The political situation in Manitoba, at the present time, is very trying to a government. The taxes are high. The Parliament buildings in Winnipeg, recently completed, are as fine as any on the continent, and cost about ten million dollars. There is a deficit in the budget this year of two million dollars, and legislation had to be passed to provide for additional taxation of this amount, to cover what appears to be the irreducible minimum of public expenditure. Needless to say, the farmers are none too well satisfied with the program their government is providing them with.

There is, however, a rift in the clouds as far as western Canada is concerned.

Many farmers have reduced their indebtedness out of last year's crop. Western Canada has commenced to realize that it can be a beef country as well as a cattle country and has a versatility of production undreamed of a few years ago. Corn is grown extensively and ripened over a large area, and silos built in large numbers. The embargo on live cattle imported into Great Britain has been removed. Mixed farming is now supplementing wheat-growing in every direction. There is strong hope that economic conditions will right themselves. No like number of farmers in the world can produce more food than the farmers now living in western Canada. The soil is fertile beyond comparison for so large an area, and there are bright days in sight.

THE FARMER PREMIER OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

BY CHARLES LUGRIN SHAW

EVERY once in a while a gray-haired giant of a man comes out of Canada's farthest West, strides down the corridors of the national Parliament buildings in Ottawa, thumps a few desks belonging to federal cabinet ministers, and voices a big demand.

Often he gets exactly what he wants; if not, he at least has the satisfaction of feeling that he made known clearly and emphatically what he wanted. John Oliver, Premier of British Columbia, is not a believer in the political effectiveness of the still, small voice. He is a fighter—every pound of him, and he weighs in the neighborhood of 300 pounds. And it is when he is fighting big and powerful opponents that John Oliver seems to be most in his natural element. Just at present he is grappling with the Canadian Pacific Railway and endeavoring to organize the whole of the Canadian West in a campaign for lower freight rates, and there is not the slightest doubt that he is enjoying the task immensely.

Oliver became Premier of British Columbia seven years ago, and at that time the only objection raised was that he was too

old. Now he is sixty-seven, but he is the hardest working member of his government; and when he is not giving thought to the management of the affairs of Canada's largest province he is looking after his great ranch at the delta of the Fraser River, which he virtually created himself by reclaiming the land from the sea. And Oliver to-day is at the pinnacle of his power and influence. When the last Canadian general election was held, Oliver was mentioned as a possible candidate for the prime-ministership; but the British Columbian probably realized as thoroughly as anyone else that his destiny lay on the Pacific coast, where there is enough pioneering to do to keep any normal man with a mighty job on his hands for an almost indefinite period.

Varied Resources of the Province

Unlike the other western provinces of Canada, British Columbia has a wide variety of interests. It is not just prairie; nor is it a sea of mountains, as early explorers described it. The province possesses easily the most valuable fisheries in the whole of Canada and the last great

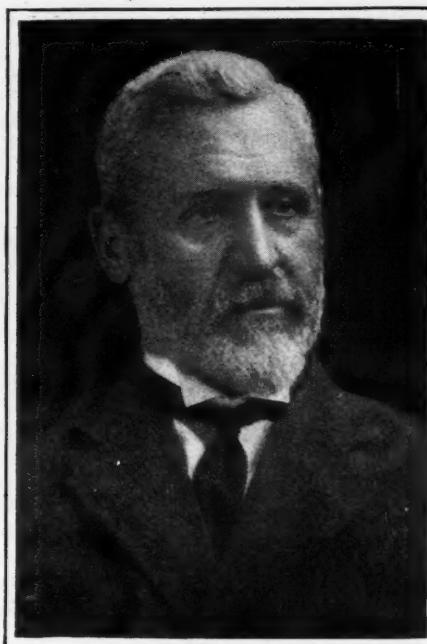
reserve of timber, almost untouched so far, on the North American continent. Its mineral wealth is enormous, and until now has only been guessed at. It possesses the greatest copper mine in the British Empire, sells coal all the way down the Pacific seaboard as far as Mexico, and markets each year a growing quantity of lead, zinc, and other mineral products. For more than half a century it has been famous for gold and silver; and last year its biggest gold producer was paying a 60 per cent. dividend on a capital of \$5,000,000! Agricultural production has expanded enormously during the last ten years and to-day fruit from the Okanogan Valley and Vancouver Island is being sold as far away as New York and the British Isles.

So it is apparent that British Columbia is quite a country, with enough in itself to provide a reasonable amount of work for the man holding highest public office there. In area alone British Columbia suggests importance, for it covers approximately the same amount of land as the States of Texas, New York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio combined.

Yet the total population of the whole province is scarcely half a million. With such an abundance of natural resources awaiting development, and so few people to harness them and make them yield their wealth, the basic problem of the province has been the need of increased population — of more settlers with the true pioneering instinct, preferably hard-working farmers. Possibly it was this realization by the majority of British Columbians, that men with the trail-blazing spirit were needed most in this empire of the farthest west, that helped to bring John Oliver, the rugged lead-miner's son, to the top.

An English Miner's Son

There was not much of the element of romance in the place where Oliver was born. It was a miner's cottage in the cramped and grimy town of Hartington, Derbyshire, England. Anyone casually reading Oliver's biography would probably conclude that early environment could have given this miner's boy little inspiration; but Oliver holds a contrary view. He says that it was his environment during the days of his early youth that provided the motive to strike out for something better; that gave birth to that driving force which gave him the habit of constantly grinding away at



HON. JOHN OLIVER, PREMIER OF BRITISH COLUMBIA

(Mr. Oliver came to Canada from England in 1870. He has been a miner, a railroad worker, and a farmer, settling finally in the province farthest west. In 1916 he became Minister of Agriculture and Railways, and in the following year he was chosen Premier of the Province of British Columbia)

the task ahead, driving steadily towards a goal that seemed indefinite, but always driving forward.

What school education Oliver received was crammed into him before he was ten years of age, because after that he joined his father in working at the mines. As a mere lad he used to pore for hours over the long-worded parliamentary debates published in the London newspapers, and here was the source of his ambition for political glory. A high place in politics was one of Oliver's two lifelong objectives. The other was to own his home, a desire fastened upon him by the horror of "rent day" among the cottagers of Hartington.

In 1870, after working in the mines for three years, John and the rest of the Oliver family went to Canada as immigrants. They settled in Ontario, where John first acquired his attachment to farm life. He was twenty-one when he left home and wandered westward. He worked his way to Omaha, then to Sacramento, and finally to British Columbia, where he was given a

job on a railroad survey. But he was anxious to become independent, so three years later he bought some acreage in the Delta district. In those days the Delta, now one of the province's richest farming areas, was subject to destructive floods; but Oliver put muscle and ingenuity to work for him, and finally, after years of hard labor and disappointment, he managed to install a dyking system which converted hundreds of acres of tide land into productive fields.

A Long and Strenuous Political Career

In the provincial election campaign of 1878 Oliver made his first public speech. He was not on the program, but that did not prevent him from making the longest and most impassioned talk of all; and from that time on he was in demand at similar meetings. In a few years Oliver had worked his way from neighborhood politics and a seat in the town council to membership in the provincial legislature. The people of the Delta had grown to admire the young, fighting farmer.

To a young man with less courage, the first session Oliver attended would have been a bitter ordeal. He was big and somewhat ungainly, and his manner of expressing himself was not always grammatical. But the jests of his colleagues at his expense made him study as he had never done before, and in a year or two he was regarded as one of the cleverest debaters in the house.

Since the early years of Oliver's political career he has tasted often of the bitterness of defeat as well as the sweetness of victory. For a generation he had been one of the leaders of the Liberal party in British Columbia; and in 1916 the Liberals, after a long period out of office, were swept back into power and Oliver was given the dual portfolio of Minister of Agriculture and Railways, the latter post involving administration of the government-owned Pacific Great Eastern Railway, running through the heart of the province north and south.

When Premier Harlan Brewster died in 1917, Oliver appeared to be the logical successor and his fellow ministers voted him to the premiership. Two years later Oliver and his party were endorsed at the polls, and Liberalism was given another four-year term of political ascendancy. Oliver's complete mastery of his party has never been questioned; in many respects he is the party.

Strangely enough, this giant of a man,

who has held so much power for so many years, has little of what might be properly described as a personal following. Oliver was never meant to be diplomat. He says many things that are unpleasant when a more cautious, more tactful man would be silent or at least try to nullify the sting by dealing in generalities. Oliver does not often sit on the fence. Nearly always he has a straight negative or affirmative reply for any question, and does not try to evade. Those who have dealings with him, whether friend or foe, know that what he says he really means; and possibly because of that fact he has found a high place in the confidence of thousands.

If Oliver were any different, he probably would be a rank failure politically. People do not expect a lifelong farmer to be a velvet-worded tactician dealing in carefully balanced phrases and wearing silk hat, sack coat, and spats. If he did that sort of thing and practised the "buck-passing" or "still-small-voice" theory, the people would mistrust him. Oliver has never tried to climb above his social station, which is that of the average citizen who enjoys the plain things in life and doesn't forget his neighbor.

Oliver is one of those strange fellows who seek recreation by merely altering his program of work. When he feels that he needs a holiday he shifts his attention from, say, agricultural problems to railways. He is finding it increasingly difficult to keep pace with progress on his big farm, and recently he turned it over to the management of his eldest son, who is a typical business farmer of the new school. Four of Oliver's five sons have received a university education. He is determined that they shall not encounter all the handicaps which he met with in early life; but he is a disciple of the gospel of hard work, and he expects his boys to work as hard as he did, even though some of the disadvantages have been cleared out of their way.

"The trouble with a lot or the people of to-day is that they have forgotten how to work," Oliver declared a few days ago. "There is a maniacal idea going about that hard work with the hands and muscles is degrading. Many is the time that I have labored and every morsel of my food has borne the imprint of my fingers in dirt. The wearing of overalls is just as honorable as the wearing of fur or broadcloth. When I dug ditches I was just as good a man as I am to-day."



THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES IN SESSION

(This picture, not a recent one, is especially interesting because it recalls a movement led by the Hon. John J. Fitzgerald, Representative from a New York City district, some ten years ago, to amend the rules of the House in the interest of efficiency)

WHAT'S THE MATTER WITH CONGRESS?

BY HON. FRANK WHEELER MONDELL

(Floor Leader in the Last Two Congresses)

IN PROPOUNDING the inquiry which forms the title of this article, with a view to suggesting some possible answers thereto, it may not be amiss to acquaint the reader with the fact that when, on March Fourth last, the Sixty-seventh Congress closed its sessions, twenty-eight years had elapsed since I first took my seat as a member of the House of Representatives. With the exception of two years of involuntary retirement following the campaign of 1896, when a free-silver candidate occupied the seat, I had served continuously in the House as the lone representative of the commonwealth of Wyoming, and the last four years as Floor Leader of the Republican majority.

Twenty-eight years is a brief period in the tides of time, but it is a long span in the life of a man and a very considerable one in that of a nation when important history is

in the making. The period of my service covered all or a part of the administrations of six Presidents—Cleveland, McKinley, Roosevelt, Taft, Wilson and Harding; and of five Speakers—Reed, Henderson, Cannon, Clark and Gillett, and witnessed all the stirring and important legislative battles and accomplishments which this list of illustrious names calls to mind.

During this time we fought two foreign wars, extended our boundaries and our jurisdiction from the continent of America to the islands of the eastern and western seas, planted our flag in the furthest Orient and united the two great oceans at Panama. Speaking now from the viewpoint of the balance of the world, the Republic in this period passed from the condition of an isolated and comparatively unimportant western nation to a position of acknowledged world supremacy in power

and moral influence. Measuring our activities by expenditures, we progressed from an annual outlay of half a billion dollars to the expenditure, during the World War, of \$33,000,000,000 in a twelve-month and to the present budget of nearly \$4,000,000,000.

Change in Attitude Toward Government

The period has been one of profound change of opinion and viewpoint on the part of a majority of our people with regard to tremendously important policies and even principles of government. As a result we have embarked upon many enterprises of government new to the earlier view, touching the limitation of federal authority and the safe and proper field of public activity. This change of view has not been wholly confined to the people of any particular class or party; in fact, it has been most noticeable, in some important instances, among those whose historic faith strongly inclined them to a narrow and restricted view of the proper field of government activity.

Congress Acts in Response to Public Demand

Whether all of our new ventures and undertakings of government have been wise, whether all of our new departures in legislation and in administration shall prove to be sound and workable, only the acid test of experience can demonstrate. It is beyond controversy, however, that these things have come to pass by reason of widespread and very active and insistent public demand. Perhaps the most curious feature of it all is the fact that we have so expanded and extended the jurisdiction and activities of the Federal Government with so few changes in our organic law. In this connection one is reminded of Mr. Dooley's observation to Mr. Hennessey to the effect that whether or not the Constitution follows the flag, the Supreme Court follows the election returns.

In carrying out the tremendous program of extension and expansion of federal jurisdiction and activity, both within and without the purview of new Constitutional amendments, the Congress has held the laboring oar, has been the instrument through which the supposedly popular will has been crystallized into statute law. It is possible, of course, that a Congress may misunderstand or misinterpret the public and the national will and purpose. It may

neglect or refuse to carry into effect a fairly definite national mandate, but none of these conditions can, under our form of government, long continue. Beyond question, in the long run, the laws enacted by the Congress fairly reflect the majority sentiment, and those things within its jurisdiction which it fails or declines to do may safely be assumed to lack the continuous, at least the persistent, support of a majority of the people. To deny this would be to confess the failure of our system of legislation.

The Tendency to Belittle Congress

The Congress being the instrument for carrying out the popular will in legislation, reflecting as it does, in the main and in the long run—approximately, at least—the view and purpose of a majority of the people, it might naturally be expected that it would be a highly esteemed and popular institution. I doubt if even the best friend of the Congress would be justified in asserting that this is entirely and continuously true. Individual members of both House and Senate are very generally highly esteemed and respected, particularly by those who know them best—which is the highest proof of quality—and the fact that men of the highest culture and position frequently put forth great efforts to secure seats in one body or the other is conclusive proof of the public appraisal of senatorial and congressional service. Notwithstanding all this, it must be admitted that the Congress, as a body, is far oftener subjected to hostile criticism than it is made the recipient of approval and that it rivals even mothers-in-law and the "flivver" as the butt and subject of the jokesmith.

As a student of congressional affairs and of the attitude of the press and public toward the Congress, I am inclined to the opinion that there is nothing particularly anomalous nor necessarily alarming in the attitude of criticism to which I have referred. In fact, it is not novel; and taking into consideration the increasing number of vital issues that Congress is called upon to meet and the growth in the number and diversity of organs for the expression of public opinion, it is by comparison neither as general nor as violent as it was formerly. On the other hand, in the very nature of the case, there is bound to be an increase in the variety and volume of criticism of legislation, and therefore of legislative bodies,

if we continue, as it seems likely we shall, to enlarge the field and widen the character of federal activities, and particularly as we more and more lay a restraining or a directing hand on the individual and augment his burdens and responsibilities.

Criticism to Be Expected

No fortunate possessor of a large income can be expected to be happy in the payment of a considerable income tax, but this fact does not restrain the criticism on the part of him who, being less fortunate in his income, berates the Congress because it has not placed a greater burden on the rich. There is no thirsty "wet" but who will criticize a statute even reasonably enforcing the Eighteenth Amendment; but there are a multitude of "drys" who will always doubt if the law has sufficient "teeth" or is properly enforced. A considerable number of people view with alarm any plan of ship subsidy; but many, including some of the aforesaid, complain bitterly because Congress appropriates for federal operation of the fleet. Some rail at Congress because of legislation proposed in the interest of the farmers; but a lot of the folks from the home region of the "farm bloc" insist that Congress has not done enough for the farmer. Whatever may be the attitude of Congress on these and countless other matters, there is certain to be a flood of criticism; and the wider the field and the greater the variety of the interests affected, the louder the chorus of disapproval.

The "Grist" of Congress

The active legislator frequently notes curiously contradictory criticism from the same source. For instance, a certain astute political manager, realizing the advertising value of slogans, dubbed the Sixty-seventh Congress, in its first session, "The Do-Nothing Congress." The epithet sounded well and it went far afield. In the meantime the Congress proceeded to consider and dispose of a very considerable number of exceedingly important problems and to transact in the aggregate an enormous volume of business, and at its close it became my duty as Majority Floor Leader to set forth in some detail its accomplishments. In performing this duty, after calling attention to the important character and complex nature of many of the problems considered, I made some reference to the vast volume of business transacted, re-

ferring to the fact that 931 laws had been placed upon the statute-books. This announcement was a veritable red rag to the "Do-Nothing-Congress" journals, and they quite exhausted their vocabulary in the denunciation of a Congress that had seen fit to grind out so large a legislative grist.

In view of the fact that, whatever may be its faults and shortcomings, the Congress does place upon the statute-books many measures having back of them a tremendous force and volume of favorable public sentiment, it might be expected that it would receive a considerable amount of warm and spontaneous public approval. But that is not our national habit.

Every important legislative proposal has its more or less important divisions of plan and detail with regard to which it is inevitable there should be honest differences of opinion. Out of these differences spirited contests frequently arise, and the outcome may be a measure generally approved in principle and generously "damned" in detail. Principles and policies may ordinarily be stated in brief and simple terms, and, so stated, receive general approval; but their application to problems and conditions frequently subjects the legislative body attempting them to the criticism of both friend and foe. Out of such conditions any considerable amount of unqualified approval is scarcely to be expected.

House Procedure: Speakers Reed, Cannon, Clark and Gillett

It is quite natural, perhaps, that there should be, from time to time, severe criticism of methods of congressional procedure; in fact, a certain amount of criticism of this character is likely to be chronic. Whatever may be one's legislative slant or interest, unless things are going more smoothly than can be ordinarily expected or more rapidly than they should be consistent with the best results, the disappointed or impatient one is likely to lay the blame to faulty organization. I began my service under "Czar" Reed. I was comparatively young, as congressional ages go, and neither then nor at any time during my service did I have the advantage of the influence that frequently attaches to membership in a large State delegation or from a State and region having commanding or pivotal importance. Nevertheless I fared well, and without especial pleading, in committee assignments important to my section; and

I enjoyed a similar experience under Speakers Henderson and Cannon.

In those earlier years the outcry against Reed's "Czarism" and the Reed rules was in the main partisan, but it had some vogue for a considerable period of time. Hepburn of Iowa maintained a persistent opposition to some features of the rules, particularly the rule with regard to recognition for debate, but the country did not take the matter seriously and that particular rule was never modified. Then came the hue and cry against Cannon and "Cannonism," resulting eventually in the revolutionary action through which the Speaker was shorn of a large share of his powers. It was inevitable that with the growth of sentiment in the country favorable to the extension and enlargement of federal activities and to a more liberal and nation-wide view of existing problems there should come a broadening of responsibility in the organization of the House. The concentration of control in the Speaker and the Committee on Rules, while it undoubtedly tended to efficiency, hampered and prevented the development and expression of the broader and more advanced viewpoint. The grievances forming the excuse for the spectacular attack which a favorable political situation rendered successful had little merit, but conditions were ripening for a plan of organization more in harmony with the political view and spirit of the times.

Following the modification of the rules under Speaker Cannon came the further changes under Speaker Champ Clark; but the present system of organization and management in the House was not effected until four years ago, as the outcome of the contest in which, while Mr. Gillett won the Speakership, the Mann adherents secured control of the organization. Having been selected as Majority Floor Leader under the new plan of organization and having served in that capacity until my voluntary retirement from the House, I shall not attempt to pass judgment on that plan. That it renders the work of House management much more difficult and trying to those charged with responsibility than did the old scheme of centralized authority, there can be no doubt. That it necessitates more general, generous, and continuous consideration by the organization of the sometimes widely varying views of the majority, there can be no question.

The retention of the confidence and re-

spect of the House was always essential to successful leadership and management; but in addition the new plan necessitates free and full and continuous consultation and acquaintance with and a reasonable consideration of every shade of opinion among the responsible majority, as well as reasonable consideration of the views of the minority. If the majority, realizing its responsibility, will give proper support to the organization which it may choose, and the management is wise in its recognition of the varying opinions that may exist among the members of its supporting majority, the new plan, with or without modification, ought to, and I have no doubt will, prove successful in reflecting in its labors the best judgment of the House.

The Demand for a Stronger Leadership

Of late it has been popular in certain quarters to complain of the alleged lack of leadership in the Congress. Curiously enough, much of this criticism comes from the same general sources that at one time denounced "Czar" Reed and at another launched philippics against Cannon and "Cannonism." One thing is quite certain: unless we shall return to a control of the House of Representatives by a triumvirate there can be no such thing as a powerful leader in the sense of one who can command and compel the carrying out of his will and wishes. In fact, that could not always be accomplished even under the old order.

I well remember the time when President Roosevelt made his famous compact with Messrs. Cannon, Payne, and Dalzell, under which he was not to insist upon an immediate revision of the tariff, provided certain specified legislation passed the House. There were quite a number of Republican members who would, as loyal party men, have been seriously embarrassed had they in the first instance been informed of the terms of that agreement and requested to adhere to it. Fortunately, we were not so informed until we were well started on the road of insurgency and quite "off the reservation," and there was no honorable way of turning back. While the powerful House organization, aided by the President, and in one case by the minority, did carry out the agreement to the letter as far as the House was concerned, sufficient stir was made to raise friends in the Senate and in the country for our contentions and eventually they were sustained.

A Smaller House Would Be More Efficient

Unquestionably the House of Representatives would do better work if the body were smaller. Possibly, in expressing that opinion, I should apologize for the fact that in the first session of the Sixty-seventh Congress I approved a plan which contemplated an increase. I took that position because, having failed to secure legislation for the reapportionment of Representatives, contemplated if not commanded by the Constitution after the taking of each decennial census, I felt it my duty to assist in passing a reapportionment bill under the new census on the only terms that seemed obtainable. I am glad now that the effort failed. Since it is generally admitted that the House would function more satisfactorily if reduced from its present membership of 435 to 300 or 350, it will no doubt be suggested that the Congress is derelict in its duty in not making the reduction. Assuming for the sake of argument that the members of Congress are sufficiently disinterested and self-sacrificing to agree to legislate themselves out of districts—for a reduction would place the seats of the great majority in jeopardy—the folks at home who manage such things and who take pride in having large delegations would probably veto the plan. In view of these conditions, any considerable reduction in the size of the House can be

brought about only by an overwhelming public sentiment operating to that end, and it is to be hoped that sufficient public interest may be aroused to overcome the selfish and local interests which now demand an increase.

Great Gains from the Budget System

Few realize the triumph effected for the cause of efficiency and economy in government by the adoption of the budget system and by placing the authority to originate appropriations, in the House of Representatives, in the hands of a single committee. The adoption of the budget system and the modification of the rules which accompanied

it undoubtedly greatly strengthened the position of the House in the control of appropriations; but the surrender of authority by the members of the various powerful committees that formerly reported appropriation bills constitutes one of the finest examples in legislative history of the voluntary relinquishment of power and jurisdiction.

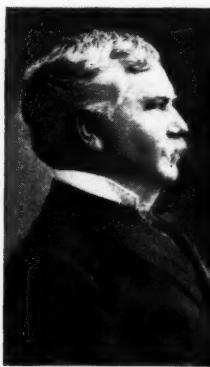
It is true that not all members of the House are entirely reconciled to the new plan of a single appropriating committee; but the change is so clearly in the public interest that I do not anticipate any serious effort to return to the old system. There is need, however, of a modifica-

tion of the rules of the House with a view to giving important committees—like those having to do with military, naval, and foreign



THOMAS B. REED
OF MAINE

(Speaker of the House from 1889 to 1891 and from 1895 to 1899)



DAVID B. HENDERSON
OF IOWA
(1889-1903)



JOSEPH G. CANNON
OF ILLINOIS
(1903-1911)



CHAMP CLARK
OF MISSOURI
(1911-1919)



FREDERICK H. GILLET
OF MASSACHUSETTS
(1919—)

SPEAKERS OF THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES DURING THE PAST QUARTER-CENTURY

affairs, agriculture, and interstate and foreign commerce—a secure and privileged status for the presentation of their more important legislation. It would be well indeed if, in consideration of such a change in rules, the committees that formerly reported appropriation bills which carried a considerable portion of the legislation coming within their jurisdiction, would adopt the policy of consolidating their legislation in the form of omnibus bills. Such a policy has been successfully effected by the Committee on Indian Affairs and, to a certain extent, by several other committees. These changes would tend to eliminate at least one legitimate ground for complaint of delay on the part of the Congress.

The Senate's Part in Causing Delay

The Constitution provides that "All bills for raising revenue shall originate in the House of Representatives; but the Senate may propose or concur with amendments as on other bills"; and the Senate has interpreted the latter clause of this provision as giving it authority and jurisdiction over revenue measures equal to that of the House. As a result, it has become the fashion of the Senate to scrutinize carefully and consider thoroughly revenue, and particularly tariff, measures. In fact, in the last Congress the Senate spent almost thirteen months in consideration of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill, and amended it so vitally that nearly a month was required in the conference to adjust the differences between the two houses. This delay of the Tariff bill, at a time when the country was expecting and demanding tariff legislation, was undoubtedly largely responsible for the vogue which the "Do-Nothing Congress" slogan acquired.

It seems to be no part of the people's business to discriminate critically between the two bodies of Congress, the Senate and the House. Perhaps this is entirely as it should be, so far as it relates to approval or disapproval of legislative enactments; but it is not so evident that such an attitude is either fair or reasonable when the criticism is occasioned by delay or failure to act, and that delay or failure may be chargeable to but one branch of Congress.

Of late years the time of the Senate has been occupied to a greater extent than formerly with the consideration of foreign affairs, over which it has exclusive jurisdic-

tion. In all likelihood the consideration of questions of this nature will in the future consume an increasing proportion of the time of the Senate. These duties can be performed without any overburdening of the Senate, as compared with the House, owing to the fact that the House must give much time and attention to the consideration of all the details of appropriation bills—since it originates them; whereas the Senate, except in cases of wide differences of opinion in matters of policy, frequently considers on the floor of the Senate only proposed Senate amendments and the more important items in controversy. The Senate committees do give considerable time and attention to appropriation bills, but the Senate itself can and generally does dispose of them very speedily.

The Ship-Subsidy Bill—Lack of Cloture

Reference to the delay in the Senate of the Fordney-McCumber Tariff bill and the criticism that grew out of it, brings to mind the long-drawn-out contest in that body over the Shipping bill. This measure passed the House November 29, 1922, at the special session; went to the Senate at once, and remained there, the subject of a continuous and persistent filibuster, until the gavel fell on the 4th of March, 1923.

The Senate has no cloture. That is, it has no effective rule under which a majority can bring debate to an end. This fact has led unkindly critics to refer to the Senate as a "debating society." But that is hardly fair to debating societies, because they do eventually decide who wins; while a successful filibuster in the Senate prevents any decision being reached. The Senate, so far as the writer is now informed, is the only legislative body in the world that has not some rule under which the majority may, when ready to do so, bring a pending question to a vote and final decision.

There was a time when the fact that the Senate had no cloture was of little importance. Originally it had but twenty-six members, and there was so little for it to do that time hung heavily on the hands of the Senators, and there was no reason for hurrying anything. In those days and for a long time thereafter no one thought of conducting a filibuster, or talking a bill to death. As no one thought of doing it, why have a rule to prevent it? But times and conditions and the Senate have changed. August and dignified representatives of sovereign



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HON. FRANK W. MONDELL OF WYOMING
(Leader of the Republican majority in the House of Representatives during the last two sessions of Congress, the Sixty-sixth and Sixty-seventh)

States, chosen by carefully selected legislatures, have made way for Senators the products of primaries and of universal suffrage. The Senate grew to a membership of ninety-six when all of our contiguous continental territory came to Statehood.

In the meantime problems grew and multiplied. Both the volume and importance of legislation increased prodigiously; and if the affairs of the country are now to be thoroughly considered, even in the long congressional sessions which have become and are likely to continue to be the rule, there is no time for endless discussion of questions unrelated to the matter in hand; for long speeches delivered largely for the purpose of wearing away the time of the session.

An Intolerable Situation

The most direct, and therefore the most apparent, ill effect of a successful Senate filibuster, is the defeat of the measure against which it was directed. Thus, the filibuster of last winter prevented a decision by the Congress of the momentous question



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THE LATE CLAUDE KITCHIN OF N. CAROLINA
(Leader of the Democratic majority in the Sixty-fourth and Sixty-fifth Congresses and minority leader during the succeeding Republican regime)

of what is to be done with serviceable units of the great fleet which cost the nation nearly \$3,000,000,000 to build and on a portion of which the Shipping Board was at one time expending annually from fifty to sixty million dollars of the people's money for expense of operation in excess of income; while the remainder lay rotting at anchor.

The present Administration, while improving the service, has succeeded in reducing the cost of operation over income by more than half; but this improvement and economy leaves the primary issue unsettled. The country and the administration are entitled to a decision on this tremendously important question. The House passed the so-called Ship Subsidy bill by a substantial majority. The Senate had an entire session of Congress in which to make up its mind and record its judgment in the matter; but after endless, fruitless, and aimless debate the Congress came to an end with the question quite as far from settlement as it was at the beginning.

Do the American people, as represented

in the Congress, desire to maintain or to attempt to maintain a merchant fleet through the medium of a subsidy as proposed in the House bill? Do they desire the Government to continue to operate merchant ships as it is now doing? Or, on the other hand, is it the will of the people that the ships owned by the Government, from the mighty *Leviathan* to the most unserviceable wooden hull, be disposed of on the best terms obtainable? No one can answer these questions definitely, because a minority in the Senate prevented the Congress from registering its opinion. Consequently the administration, denied a decision in the matter, is doing the best it can to handle a situation which never should have been allowed to develop.

It occurs to me that no argument is necessary to demonstrate the fact that a situation like this is intolerable. It is legislative anarchy. There may be, and no doubt is, a wide diversity of opinion in the country as to what disposition should have been made of the fleet; but there can be no difference in opinion as to the duty of Congress to discharge its responsibility and settle the matter one way or the other.

A Filibuster May Hold Up an Entire Legislative Program

While the failure of the legislative measure, against which a filibuster is directed, is the most apparent of the unfortunate effects of the lack of a vote-enforcing rule in the Senate, it is by no means the most regrettable or menacing. The indirect effects on the legislative program in general are much more harmful. Unfortunate as it is to have the settlement of a question involving vast expenditures and a government policy of primary importance delayed indefinitely, there are infinitely greater possibilities of harm in having the entire legislative program of the country subjected for an indefinite period to the whims and caprices of the managers of a chronic filibuster.

The entire appropriation and legislative program of the recent session of Congress was considered in the Senate under a flag of truce in the intervals in which the managers of the Senate filibuster were pleased to make way for measures other than the Shipping bill. No argument is needed to convince anyone at all familiar with legislative procedure that legislation cannot be properly and fairly considered

under such circumstances. What compromises in legislative plans and provisions were necessary from time to time to secure the temporary muzzling of the filibustering batteries, no one, except those who arranged the details of the legislative truces, can know. That the conditions were favorable to the presentation and acceptance of legislative compromises and conditions, no one can deny.

During this period the Senate passed on one occasion more than one hundred bills in about the same number of minutes. There wasn't time to read even the titles in full, if they were long. It is true that some of these measures were comparatively unimportant; but quite a number of them treated of matters of moment and involved heavy expenditures. Appropriation bills containing thousands of items were passed with the reading of only a few Senate amendments. Under the circumstances, this procedure could not be avoided; otherwise appropriation bills would have failed, and an extra session would have been inevitable. But the flag of truce was never utilized for the consideration of any measure to which there was serious objection on the part of the minority; and thus the filibuster directed against one measure operated to render impossible the proper consideration of all, and eventually prevented any action on a number of measures of importance in addition to the Shipping bill.

This lack of a cloture in the Senate and the legislative throttling which it renders possible, have a profound and unfortunate effect upon all legislation and legislative procedure not only in the Senate, but also, unfortunately and unhappily, in the House. No legislative program can be carried out in the most satisfactory fashion without consultation and coöperation between the responsible managers of the two bodies of Congress with regard to the plan of legislative procedure and the time and sequence in which measures are to be considered. Manifestly, such agreements and understandings are difficult, if not impossible, in the face of a situation where the legislative managers in one body can form no definite or intelligent opinion as to how long a legislative hold-up may continue or as to when it may be temporarily suspended.

The existence of a state of filibuster affords the finest possible opportunity for the presentation of demands for amend-



NELSON DINGLEY
OF MAINE
(1897)

SERENO E. PAYNE
OF NEW YORK
(1909)

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OSCAR W. UNDERWOOD
OF ALABAMA
(1913)

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JOSEPH W. FORDNEY
OF MICHIGAN
(1922)

SPONSORS OF TARIFF MEASURES FRAMED IN THE HOUSE OF REPRESENTATIVES
DURING THE PAST QUARTER-CENTURY

ment or modification of any or all of the measures considered. In fact I have been surprised at times at the moderation displayed in this regard, in view of the extraordinary opportunity. Nevertheless, these legislative hold-ups occur often.

I know there are defenders of the Senate rule of unlimited debate. As I have already pointed out, there was a time when that rule was not objectionable because it was not abused. The lack of a cloture rule unquestionably magnifies the importance of the individual Senator, but just as certainly reduces the stature of the Senate as a body. No one has the right, under our form of government, to be the potential possessor of a practically unlimited legislative veto; and that is what the lack of a cloture in the Senate amounts to. The President may exercise the veto only in the open, taking full responsibility, but even then, by a two-thirds' vote, the Congress may override him; but the situation existing in the Senate with its lack of a vote enforcing rule is one in which, particularly when a filibuster is in progress, every Senator carries a potential veto of legislation great and small, important and unimportant.

In recent years the business of the Congress has increased many-fold in volume and vastly in the importance of many of the problems presented. If this business is to have proper consideration, the rules of both Houses of Congress must, while affording reasonable and even liberal opportunity for the expression of opinion and the presentation of views, contain provisions

under which, when the matter in hand has been considered, it may be put to a vote.

Some critics of the Congress have been inclined to the view that the rules of the House governing debate are not sufficiently liberal. Ordinarily there is no disposition unduly to limit discussion of the question at issue when it is proceeding in good faith; and the rules are none too drastic when the minority under competent leadership starts a filibuster. The Senate with its small membership may never adopt, and perhaps should not adopt, rules under which debate may be limited to the extent possible under the House rules; but careful students of American legislation must admit that the present situation in the Senate with regard to debate is intolerable. In the consideration of treaties and other matters having to do with foreign relations, in which the jurisdiction of the Senate is exclusive, it may be wise and proper to continue the present rule of procedure in the Senate, though even that may be somewhat doubtful. The important matter, however, is the limitation of debate on legislative questions.

President and Congress

The relations between the Executive and the Congress and the proper attitude of one toward the other have been matters of endless discussion, developing wide differences of opinion, since the beginning of our history. When things are not going to suit it, one section or another of the press bewails the lack of a "strong and forceful" Chief Executive who would tell the Con-

gress what to do and insist upon its doing it. On the other hand, we have at certain periods in our history heard much of the alleged subserviency of the Congress to the Executive. Just how a President would get along in these days who might attempt to "boss" the Congress and make a business of telling it just what should and should not be done, I am not entirely certain. Under peace conditions no President in our time has attempted it, and therefore we have no actual experience on which to base an opinion.

It is said that President Wilson exercised a dominating influence over the Congress and compelled action according to his way of thinking. It is entirely true that during the period of the war and immediately thereafter, when we were living amid war-born conditions, Congress did accept in a large measure, though frequently with material amendment, the program of the Executive branch of the government; but Congress was not responding to President Wilson's demands nor to those of the members of his Cabinet, but to the overwhelming national patriotic impulse under which it gave the benefit of the doubt to anything and everything urged by those in administrative authority as essential to the accomplishment of the great enterprise in which we were engaged. In cases where the majority halted or hesitated, the minority forced the issue.

The heart and soul of America was set on doing in splendid fashion our share of the job on hand; and that was the influence, rather than any mandates from the White House or the departments, which persuaded the Congress, frequently with much doubt and misgiving—which was fully justified—to act promptly and generally favorably on the recommendation of the Administration.

The Wilson Administration

As floor leader of the majority I had an interesting experience touching the attitude of the Wilson administration toward the House of Representatives. Immediately upon the completion of the organization of the Sixty-sixth Congress, in the middle of President Wilson's second term, I sought an interview with ex-Speaker Champ Clark, then minority leader, and on behalf of the majority said to him that while we expected, of course, to take responsibility for what was done, we were anxious, particularly in view of the abnormal conditions following the war, to coöperate so far as

reasonably possible with the Administration, and to that end we would be glad, in addition to those recommendations and suggestions that might come to us in the usual official way, to be confidentially advised from time to time as to their views. It is not necessary to quote the exact language of the Missouri statesman's reply. It was emphatic and somewhat lurid and to the effect that if we desired to know what the Administration wanted, except as it came officially, it would be necessary to go elsewhere, "for," said he, "they never confer with me." A similar suggestion made to Mr. Kitchin, chairman of the Committee on Ways and Means, brought a smiling and sarcastic answer of the same tenor and to the same effect.

The very creditable volume of important legislation enacted by Congress during the first term of President Wilson did not in any considerable degree originate with the White House nor reach enactment through White House influence or pressure. As a matter of fact the administration of President Wilson had the good fortune to assume control of affairs at a time when long continued discussion had practically crystallized public sentiment on a variety of important problems. The Federal Reserve System is perhaps the most striking example of this fact. Legislation improving the postal service and providing for farm credits are further examples of this condition.

Roosevelt and Harding

Those who hanker for an Executive who shall wield a "big stick" over the Congress frequently refer approvingly to President Roosevelt in this connection; and yet the fact is that few presidents in our time or in any time of our history conferred more frequently with members and Senators or kept better informed as to their opinions and views than did President Roosevelt. Roosevelt had a very effective way of influencing Congress by appealing to the country, but his attitude toward the Congress itself was in the main perfectly frank and generally friendly and one of consultation and coöperation. He did not expect that Congress would accept his views unless he gave reasonable consideration to its views, as evidenced by the incident referred to earlier in this article.

President Harding has maintained an attitude of frequent and friendly consultation and of a "give-and-take" coöperation

with the Congress. Congress has not always agreed with the President or carried out his views, but the only important instances of divergence were controlled by conditions altogether out of the ordinary. Under the powerful influence of a pride in, and patriotic appreciation of the services of, our soldiers in the World War, a widespread sentiment was developed favorable to the granting of a bonus. While this sentiment prevailed a large majority of members and Senators pledged themselves or were pledged by their party locally to bonus legislation. The sentiment of the country changed somewhat, but the pledge of the legislator remained. He was compelled to fulfill that pledge; while the President felt justified in vetoing the measure on the ground that it made no provision for meeting the obligations incurred.

The failure to dispose of the Shipping Bill in the Senate could not have been avoided by executive pressure, no matter how powerful, so long as the Senate maintains rules under which a small minority can paralyze the operations of the Government. In my opinion, the policy of frequent and friendly consultation with Congress that has been followed by President Harding, and the attitude of coöperation which has been maintained quite continuously between the President and Congress, constitute the logical and reasonable relation, and will, in the long run, produce the best results. There are bound to be times when the majority in the Congress will find it difficult to agree wholly with a President, no matter how reasonable he may be, and there are certain to be periods when the Congress may appear to the Executive to be quite unreasonable, but such situations are not to be avoided or improved either by an overbearing attitude on the part of the Chief Executive or one of hostility or indifference on the part of Congress.

Service in the Congress of the United States has never been a particularly easy or a carefree enterprise, and the requirements of such service have very greatly increased in recent years. The extraordinary growth of the country in wealth and population, the tremendous broadening of the field of Federal jurisdiction and activity have all served to swell the importance, to enlarge the number and to increase the complexity of the problems which the legislator must meet. The member or

Senator must also recognize and adjust himself to a new attitude on the part of his constituents differing widely from the usual attitude of other times. In former days he came to Washington and during the sessions heard comparatively little from his constituents. He was left quite undisturbed to meet the comparatively few and simple problems of the time.

To-day's Demands on Representatives and Senators

To-day, with a vastly improved mail service and a disposition to use it, universal telegraph and telephone systems, the Representative or Senator is within easy reach of all who may desire to communicate with him. This is the day of organization and organized propaganda, and the legislator is fairly submerged with suggestions, requests, appeals, and demands for or against a perfectly bewildering variety of legislative proposals. Time was when many constituencies seemed to take pride in an independent spirit on the part of their representatives, but in these days of easy communication, cheap printing and flowing oratory, the member or Senator who feels called upon to take a decided stand in opposition to any of the plans and purposes of these organized minorities, finds himself confronted with a serious situation when he returns home. Modern militant minorities have no patience with or toleration of those who do not agree with their most extreme demands.

I am glad to bear testimony to the honesty, the patriotism, the sincerity and the devotion to the public interest of the overwhelming majority of those with whom I have served in Congress for over a quarter of a century. These are essential qualifications for public service, and the Congress possesses them in abundant measure.

Such good judges of Congressional requirements as the late Champ Clark and "Uncle Joe" Cannon have declared that the most essential qualification for a modern legislator is moral courage. These veterans voiced the general opinion among men experienced in legislative affairs. It does require moral courage of the finest quality to discharge in full measure, to the best interest of all the people, the responsibilities now laid upon a member of the Congress.

The Congress is seldom called upon to take action that is clearly and unquestionably, on its face, not in the public interest.

Such appeals, if made, would be easily denied, because no one would dare publicly to defend them. The proposals and demands against which the legislator must be most on his guard are those that have a spacious and appealing form, and are urged by perfectly well-meaning people who believe, or claim to believe, that they are just and reasonable, wise and sound. They are quite generally persuasively presented in the name of progress, advance and reform and with claim or appearance of wide popular support.

Those who in these days urge upon the Congress plans and proposals of legislation of the character I have referred to no longer follow the more or less casual method of other days. They organize thoroughly and present their plan and purpose in its most appealing and alluring form. They select their officers with care and their legislative representative with an eye single to securing results.

Quite frequently such representative, who must justify his employment, makes demands not essential to the plan or purpose which he is expected to serve; but woe be to the legislator who fails to respond: for the tale that is carried back to the constituency is likely to picture him as hopelessly hidebound and reactionary. I have in mind a case in which a member of Congress holding a responsible committee position felt called upon very frankly and quite earnestly to oppose a legislative proposal that had the support of a small but most active body of entirely worthy persons who would be benefited by it and from whose personal and interested viewpoint the matter, no doubt, seemed just and proper. In the campaign that followed, the people in this particular member's district who were directly interested in the matter and who could not have numbered over a baker's dozen, organized for his defeat, and by an adroit argument, which few people seem to have taken the trouble to analyze, accomplished their purpose; and a very active and very useful member of Congress went out of public life.

Imagine the situation of a member or Senator who feels called upon to oppose the extreme demands of several of these militant minorities capable of organizing quickly and widely in these days of easy publicity. Nothing short of a miracle could, in the case of a close election, prevent the defeat of one so offending. If there be

time and opportunity to place before a constituency the actual character and the probable effects of what is proposed the response is likely to be favorable; but in the midst of a political campaign, involving all sorts of questions and problems, the opportunity to effectively present the candidate's side is very rarely offered.

In view of this situation, is it to be wondered that those of unquestioned integrity, tried judgment and long experience in legislative life hold that moral courage has come to be—whether or not it has always been—one of the essentials, if not the prime qualification, of a legislator?

Many men in Congress possess this quality; but political conditions neither encourage nor promote it, because the average voter is much inclined to take the word of every plausible pleader for governmental activity, aid or favor, rather than the word or judgment of the man he or she helped to elect to Congress.

The Voter's Responsibility

We need a revival of the old-time spirit and attitude toward government; the attitude of service and support rather than one of appeal and pleading on behalf of groups, interests or causes. We need a revival of the spirit which rewarded fidelity, duty, unwavering courage and reasonable independence of view and action.

While we shall never have a Congress free from criticism so long as men's opinions differ, we may have one that more nearly meets the public's reasonable expectations when the great body of the people, who have no special axes to grind, no special interest to serve, shall take the time to inform themselves and, being informed, give their support to those who have the courage of their convictions and who do not hesitate to oppose questionable plans, purposes and proposals, however appealing and popular.

The average constituent may have some difficulty in judging between the special pleader and the Representative or Senator, but he is generally safe in deciding for the latter, if, in addition to the virtues of honesty and sincerity of purpose, he has earned a deserved reputation for courage—not the courage of the zealot, the radical, or the obstructionist, but the courage that holds men steadfast to principle and sound policy when local, temporary and popular appeals tempt him to grant special favor or embark on dangerous experiments.

JAPAN AND THE NAVAL TREATY

BY K. K. KAWAKAMI

OF LATE there has been an inclination on both sides of the Pacific to question the value and effectiveness of the Naval Treaty of Washington. Only a year ago we listened to a great chorus sung by the American public in praise of the Conference and its achievements. To-day we hear discordant notes of criticism.

In Japan, too, skeptics have not been wanting who would see only the shortcomings of the Treaty. Their pessimism has been somewhat deepened by England's decision to expend an enormous sum on the naval base and fortifications at Singapore, and the awkward controversy which has developed between the United States and England on the question of elevating the guns of battleships.

Nevertheless, the far-seeing men of Japan fully recognize that the best interest of their country demands not only the maintenance of the Washington Treaty but the extension of its scope. It was perhaps because of this conviction that Japan of all signatories to the Treaty proved to be the first to put its provisions into execution. As early as August 16, 1922, she commenced removing the turrets of the main batteries of the *Katori*, *Kashima*, *Kurama*, and *Ikoma*, and began the scrapping of the *Hizen*, *Mikasa*, *Satsuma*, *Aki*, *Settsu*, and *Ibuki*, as well as the *Kaga*, *Tosa*, *Tokawa* and *Atago*, all of which had just been launched before the Washington Conference. Since then the process of deletion has been going on without interruption.

Simultaneously Japan has adopted a program for the reduction of the personnel of the navy. It includes the retirement within a year or so of 949 officers, 415 warrant officers, 2,345 petty officers and 8,446 men, making a total of 12,155. The saving thus secured amounts to 5,000,000 yen. As the personnel of the Japanese Navy, before the adoption of the reduction program, numbered about 77,100 officers and men, the discharge of 12,155 amounts to a reduction of almost 15.7 per cent.

Before the conclusion of the Naval Treaty the Naval Academy of Japan admitted 300 students every year. Last summer this number was reduced to 50. In addition to the reduction of annual enrollment, students, who were pursuing their studies in the Naval Academy last summer, were given the option of leaving the school with a view to entering civilian life. This action was taken within half a year after the Washington Conference, when the fate of the Treaty, due to the failure of France and Italy to ratify it, was not entirely certain.

Radical Changes in "8-8" Program

Before the Washington Conference Japan had what was known as the 8-8 building program. That program, as far as capital ships were concerned, has been completely abandoned. As to the building of auxiliary ships, upon which the Washington Treaty placed no restriction, the program has been radically altered.

Under the 8-8 program adopted in 1920, Japan was to have built 26 cruisers, 94 destroyers, and 93 submarines. Of these projected ships 17 cruisers, 57 destroyers, and 47 submarines had already been either completed or under construction before the Washington Conference. Had the 8-8 program remained intact, Japan would, in the seven years, 1922 to 1928 inclusive, have added to her Navy 9 cruisers, 37 destroyers, and 46 submarines. Even if Japan had proceeded with the execution of this program, no one could have accused her of acting in contravention of the Washington agreement. Nevertheless, she believed that the spirit of the Conference required the powers to do their best, irrespective of the letter of the Treaty, in the curtailment of their respective programs.

Acting upon this belief, Japan made a radical change to that part of the 8-8 program which had remained unexecuted when the Washington Treaty was concluded. Under the old program, as we have noted, 9 cruisers, 37 destroyers, and 46

submarines were to have been added to the Japanese Navy in the coming seven years. The new program changed these figures to 8 cruisers (4 of 10,000 tons each, and 4 of 7,000 each), 24 destroyers totalling 33,600 tons, and 22 submarines aggregating 28,166 tons. From this it appears that a cruiser, 13 destroyers, and 24 submarines have been eliminated from the 8-8 program. The tonnage reduction amounts to 13,395.

Benefits to Japan

All this goes to show that Japan has complied with the provisions of the Washington Treaty not willy-nilly, but whole-heartedly. She has welcomed the opportunity thus afforded of lifting the burden of taxation from the shoulders of the people. Let us summarize roughly the material benefits she will derive from the Treaty in the next year: By dismissing 14,000 officers and men, at least 5,000,000 yen will be saved. The scrapping of fourteen capital ships will result in the elimination of a maintenance cost of 10,000,000 yen. By stopping the building of capital ships included in the old program, the treasury will be relieved of an expenditure of at least 70,000,000 yen, with an additional saving of 38,000,000 yen which was to have been required in the making of huge guns and other necessary equipments for dreadnaughts. The abolition of the naval station at Port Arthur and the conversion of the Maizuru naval base into a minor station, will save 3,000,000 yen. Lastly, the reduction of miscellaneous naval expenditure made possible by the new program will amount to 7,000,000 yen. All in all, the retrenchment as conceived by the Japanese Navy will result in the saving of 132,000,000 yen in one year.

Lest the public will hasten to the conclusion that this handsome sum will be actually spared to the Japanese people, it must be explained that the program of retrenchment involves new expenditures of some 76,000,000 yen, so that the actual sum to be saved will not exceed 50,000,000 yen. The more important of these new expenditures are as follows: The scrapping of 14 capital ships, 13,000,000 yen; "bonus" for officers and men to be dismissed, 12,000,000 yen; the relief of some 10,000 discharged workmen formerly employed in various branches of the Navy, 3,500,000 yen; damages claimed by private builders whose contracts have been cancelled by the Navy, 20,000,000 yen; the conversion of the

dreadnaughts *Akagi* and *Amagi* into airship carriers, 20,000,000 yen; the improvement of capital ships especially in regard to their protection against bombs and submarines, 7,500,000 yen, being the first installment of a five-year program.

In scrapping fourteen capital ships and stopping the building of new ones, Japan has, perhaps, placed herself in a more insecure position than have Great Britain and the United States by the adoption of similar measures. Japan is a country most unfortunately situated in the matter of iron and steel supply. For these and other materials essential to shipbuilding she is almost entirely dependent upon foreign mills. How could she resume the construction of ships on short notice, should the unexpected happen, destroying or altering to her disadvantage the international relations established by the Washington Treaty? On the other hand, the United States and Great Britain, with limitless resources at their disposal, can resume shipbuilding the moment they find such a course imperative. They may scrap a score of dreadnaughts to-day, and embark upon a building undertaking to-morrow on an equally gigantic scale. It is, therefore, to Japan's interest that the naval agreement of Washington should be not only perpetuated but improved. A far-seeing, liberal Japan would undoubtedly take the initiative in securing another naval treaty more effective than the Washington Agreement in terminating ruinous naval rivalry among the powers.

Pacific Fortifications

No discussion of the Naval Treaty will be complete which does not make plain the exact status of the Pacific fortifications as affected by that treaty. This seems all the more important because allegations have been advanced in certain quarters to the effect that Japan had completed the fortifications of Bonin Group before the Washington Conference.

Any one who knows anything about the Bonins must know that no island in the group has any good harbor even for merchant ships. No amount of money could convert any of the harbors into anything like a naval base. As for the fortifications, they are, as they exist to-day, as harmless as the proverbial castle in the air. Any foreigner is at liberty to cruise around or land at any of the islands to inspect those

"formidable fortifications" which exist only in the imagination of a fire-eater. He will find not a single gun in the whole group.

One need not be a military engineer to know that no modern fortification, capable of coping with advanced methods of attack, could be built in a few months. Yet this is what we are asked to believe with regard to the fortification of the Bonins. The spring of 1921, we are told, found these islands practically unfortified. About that time Tokyo became aware of the intention of Washington to convene an international conference on the limitation of armaments. Whereupon Japan hastened to fortify the islands. Having thus established a "thoroughly equipped naval base at the Bonins," Japan was, when the Conference opened, in a position to propose, so the story goes, the maintenance of the *status quo* of the fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific. Thus Japanese military and naval engineering was credited with accomplishing the impossible, and Japanese diplomacy with outwitting Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour with all their expert advisers!

Not only as a matter of history, but also to clear popular misunderstanding, it seems pertinent to set forth an accurate record of how Japan proposed the maintenance of the *status quo* of Pacific fortifications, and how she fought for the exclusion of the Bonin Group from the *status quo* zone.

When the Japanese delegation was obliged to accept the 5-5-3 ratio as the relative strength of capital ships to be retained by Great Britain, the United States and Japan, Admiral Kato approached Mr. Hughes with a view to reaching an understanding for the cessation of further work on the fortifications and naval bases in the Pacific. To this idea the American delegation was favorably disposed. After several conversations between Hughes, Balfour and Kato it was agreed that the *status quo* should be maintained as to the fortifications and naval bases in the "region of the Pacific," with the exception of Australia, New Zealand, the Hawaiian Islands, and Japan proper, and that the Bonin Islands should come within the zone in which the *status quo* was to be preserved. In accordance with that understanding the original Article 19 of the Naval Treaty was drafted. There was reason to believe that Admiral Kato readily subscribed to that article. Whether he did so under definite instructions from the home government was not

known. Certain it was that personally he was not opposed to the agreement.

Japan's Attitude on the Bonin Islands

To the great embarrassment of the Japanese delegate, his home government, after the above understanding had been reached with Mr. Hughes and Mr. Balfour, took the view that the Bonin Islands formed a part of Japan proper and should, therefore, be excluded from the *status quo* zone, thus reserving to Japan the right to fortify those islands in the future. Perhaps the Government at Tokio took this attitude mainly because the United States reserved the right to augment the military and naval strength of the Hawaiian Islands. Fair-minded critics must recognize plausible reason in this Japanese contention. Hawaii is 2100 sea miles from San Francisco, while the Bonins are only 300 sea miles from Yokohama. If America must keep on increasing fortifications and naval bases on islands whose distance from its Pacific Coast is about four times as great as the distance between Yokohama and the Bonin Group, Japan can certainly advance plausible arguments for the exclusion of that group from the *status quo* zone. Moreover, Pearl Harbor at Hawaii had already become a magnificent naval base. If America really wished to be a harbinger of peace in the Pacific, why, the Japanese might ask, should she be so eager to keep on strengthening that naval base?

Be that as it may, Admiral Kato, acting upon instructions from Tokio, asked Mr. Hughes to agree to the exclusion of the Bonin Islands from the *status quo* region. Mr. Hughes was uncompromising. He would listen to no proposal which would permit Japan to increase fortifications in those islands. As a compromise Kato proposed that the Bonin Group should be eliminated from the scope of the Naval Treaty, but that Japan should sign a separate note, pledging herself to maintain its existing status. Of course this compromise was meaningless, because there was no difference between a treaty and a note as far as binding force was concerned. As long as Japan insisted upon the fundamental contention that the Bonins should be exempted from the *status quo* zone she had strong argument to back her. Once that point was conceded there was no reason why she should hesitate to accept a treaty including the Bonin Group in the delimited

zone. And yet Japan allowed this quibbling to delay the conclusion of the Naval Treaty for a month. The only plausible explanation for this Japanese attitude was the prevalent opinion in Japan that no outside power should be permitted to determine for her what islands constituted Japan proper, and that Japan proper, as commonly understood among the Japanese, included the Bonins. It was, in short, the old story of national dignity.

Good Effects of the Washington Conference

The Washington Conference did not take up the question of land armament. But in Japan the radical reduction of the Navy could not fail to influence the attitude of the Army. Moreover, public opinion has been growing stronger in favor of military, as well as naval, curtailment. The plan adopted by the Japanese Army last year is to discharge, in the three years 1922-1924, 2318 officers and 60,228 men, and to dispose of 13,320 horses, resulting in a saving of 160,000,000 yen.

I have discussed the material benefits resulting from the Washington Conference. But its moral effect has been equally beneficial. It has restored the mutual feeling of confidence between the United States and Japan. Since mutual confidence is the foundation of international peace, this moral effect is perhaps the most important outcome of the Washington Conference.

One of the objects of the Conference was to make either the American or the Japanese Navy incapable of conducting aggressive war against the other, thus converting both into weapons of defense. If it has made it difficult for America to undertake an offensive war in the Western Pacific, it has made it far more difficult for Japan to conduct a similar war in the Eastern Pacific.

In discussing the naval problem of the Pacific it is well to remember that the distance between Yokohama and San Francisco is 5500 miles, and that Panama is 8000 miles from Japan. No man with common sense can believe that the Japanese Navy, with a strength of 3 as against America's 5, is capable of crossing the vast expanse of water to deliver an effective attack upon any part of the American coast. Keep in sight also the American bases in the Hawaiian Group, in the Philippines, and at Guam, all of which, though uncompleted, constitute a most effective restraint

upon such an aggressive move on the part of the Japanese Navy. Conceding that a few stray submarines may be able to sneak across the Pacific, can they accomplish anything materially to influence the ultimate issue of a war with America? Certainly their activities will have no effect upon the economic strength of America, for the country is self-supporting and can exist without drawing any material from across the Pacific. Equally unlikely are they to interfere with American commerce, for in the event of an American-Japanese war, the foreign trade of the United States will be carried on by way of the Atlantic into which Japanese submarines will never venture. He who tries to scare the credulous by painting the horrible picture of the activities of German submarines in the late war, ignores geographical, economic, and other factors, all of which, in a war with Japan, will prove a great advantage to the United States.

It has been well said that modern war is, in the last analysis, one of resources rather than of ships and guns. In the matter of resources few nations are so seriously handicapped as Japan. Within her own territory she has but meager supply of iron and steel. As for oil, most essential to naval operations, not only is she unable to obtain it at home, but she cannot secure its supply in any foreign country within reasonable distance. In the event of an American-Japanese war England would be friendly to America. Other European nations would be equally apathetic toward Japan. As for China, she would surely cast her lot with America rather than with Japan, which would prove a serious obstacle to Japan's military and naval operations against America. Thus Japan would be compelled to fight America single-handed. Pitted against the inexhaustible economic and financial resources of America Japan would go bankrupt within a surprisingly short time. To chauvinistic Japanese such frank admissions must be extremely distasteful, but no good purpose will be served by closing our eyes to these obvious facts. Upon the so-called naval experts, whether Japanese, American, or British, to whom ships and guns are the only determining factors in warfare, I would particularly urge the study of the political, economic and financial factors which are certain to prove all-important in a war between America and Japan.



A COTTON FARM IN QUEENSLAND, AUSTRALIA

(From a mere half-dozen bales in 1914, Australian production of cotton has grown to a prospective yield this season of 40,000 bales)

AUSTRALIA TURNS TO COTTON

BY AARON HARDY ULM

IS AUSTRALIA merely "cotton mad," as some say, or is there coming rapidly into existence an antipodal cotton-growing rival of our Southland, as most Australians seem to believe?

"At the present moment," J. W. Sanger, American trade commissioner at Melbourne, wrote the Department of Commerce in November last, "Australia is in a fever of excitement over the prospects of cotton-growing. Exhibits of native-grown cotton are being shown in the department stores of Sydney and Melbourne, illustrated lectures are being given, the papers are filled with publicity on the subject, and on all sides there is evident a concerted effort to give the matter a 'boost.'"

"No industry has made more rapid strides," declared Prime Minister Hughes in the Australian parliament a short time ago. "Cotton beckons us on, and shows the road along which we should go." He declared that cotton-growing, on millions of now untenanted acres, appeared to be an industry on which they could depend to provide remunerative employment for the

tens of thousands of immigrants they are expecting to receive from Europe during the next few years. The immigration scheme adopted by the Commonwealth is very ambitious, aiming at settling on the land vast numbers of British war veterans. The cotton-growing movement is being sponsored with like breadth of view and governmental patronage.

Cotton has been grown in Australia since the days of our Civil War. According to figures sent to Washington recently by Walter T. Costello, our vice-consul at Newcastle, New South Wales, production reached a height of 5000 bales in 1871, but dwindled to what approximated only four or five bales in 1914.

War-time prices brought about a mild revival of the industry, and in 1917 Australian farmers harvested more than 100,000 pounds of cotton. Marketing difficulties absorbed profits, and in 1919 only seventy-two acres were planted to cotton in all the continent. The almost unparalleled prices of that year led many Australian farmers to try cotton-growing again in 1920. Results

were so good that commonwealth and state governments, together with imperial interests in England, decided to get behind the development of the industry, which is now being boomed with characteristic Australian vigor.

In 1922 something like 4600 bales of cotton were picked from approximately 9000 acres, chiefly in Queensland, in which state the industry centers. There were fragmentary plantings in other states and in the territories.

Writing to our Department of Commerce in December last, Vice-Consul Costello stated that published reports, apparently official, gave the season's cotton acreage in Queensland as totaling 119,709, with 9647 farmers of that state engaged in the industry. The prospective yield was 56,000,000 pounds of seed cotton, tantamount to 40,000 bales of lint. Arrangements had been made, it was stated, for planting about 3000 acres in New South Wales. Promoters of the movement are predicting that next season's crop will total at least a quarter of a million bales.

Estimates of present plantings seem to have been based on distribution of seed as made by the Australian Cotton Growing Association, a semi-governmental organization for promoting and managing the industry. More recent reports indicate that this season's acreage of matured cotton is between forty and fifty thousand.

Through the association, a minimum price for cotton delivered at railroad points is guaranteed the planters. The base price is 5½ pence a pound for seed cotton of 1½ inch or longer fiber, poorer cottons bringing proportionately less. The price approximates about 30 cents a pound on an Ameri-

can upland middling basis. Assurance appears to have been given that price guarantees will continue through several seasons. Any profits made by the association will be divided with the growers. The association owns and operates the ginneries, of which five have been set up in Queensland, and it attends to all marketing.

Only those planters who conform to the association's regulations can claim its guarantees. To insure the establishment of the best varieties that may be grown, planters must procure all seed from the association. American long-stapled cottons, like Pima and Durango, are the ones chiefly planted. Last season's cotton did not quite come up in quality to what was expected. It averaged about 1½ inch in fiber length. It was superior, however, to the average of American upland cotton, selling for about 2 cents a pound more in the British markets. Harvesting cotton from plants grown on old roots—for cotton acts as a perennial there—is discouraged.

Farmers are advised to make cotton a side crop only, and to limit plantings to what they can handle without wage labor. No farmer can claim the price guarantee for the pickings from more than fifty acres. An Australian newspaper tells of one farmer who in 1922 netted more than \$1500 from twenty-three acres of cotton, attended to wholly by himself and family. Last season's yield per acre averaged about 900 pounds of seed cotton or about three-fifths of a bale of lint, as against less than one-third of a bale in America. Leaders of the movement believe that the average yield can be brought up to more than a bale to the acre, as much of the soil there is rich and needs no fertilizers.

Potential acreage seems to be unlimited. John McEwen, agent general for the Commonwealth, speaking at the last World Cotton Conference, declared that cotton may be grown on more than 50,000,000 acres in Australia. The state of Queensland alone covers a territory of more than 650,000 square miles. Its climate is much like that of southern Georgia and South Carolina. Queensland and the other states are fairly well equipped



SEVEN BALES OF COTTON IN THE GREAT TEXTILE CENTER AT MANCHESTER, ENGLAND—EACH BALE FROM A DIFFERENT PART OF THE WORLD

with railroads. Premier Hughes declares that it is proven that cotton can be grown in all the mainland states and even in the tropical regions of the territories. Irrigation works now being constructed along the Murray River will open for cultivation several million acres of unusually rich soil in central and southern Australia.

"The great problem in Australia is labor," says W. H. Hembury, general manager of the two imperial organizations—the British Cotton Growing Association and the Empire Cotton Growing Corporation—that are promoting cotton culture in nearly all parts of the empire. These organizations are backing the Australian movement. They have agreed to accept at compensatory prices, limited to losses of not more than £10,000 for any single season, all Australian cotton sent to Liverpool. They seem to be less confident of the success of the movement than are the Australians themselves. Prof. John A. Todd, chief economist for the British organizations and the empire's foremost scholastic authority on cotton, says:

"The governments concerned in Australia must be prepared not only to dig pretty deeply into their pockets but also to maintain a considerable degree of paternal control over the industry if it is made successful." If the level of cotton prices continues high, he believes it entirely possible for Australia to develop large-scale cotton-growing.

A commission representing the imperial organizations recently investigated the movement and evinced much enthusiasm over the prospects. It was headed by B. Compton Wood, who directed the Board of Trade control of Egyptian cotton during the war. He is quoted in the *London Times* as saying: "We have seen soil capable of growing the world's best cotton. We have seen cotton better than American. And there is little doubt that cotton can be produced in Australia cheaper than in the United States." The only needs, the commission reported, are men and money.

"I should say that there is little question about land and climate for big-scale cotton production in Australia," says A. W. Ferrin of the United States Department of Commerce, who spent several recent years there as American trade commissioner. "With adequate cheap labor, Australia probably could produce any amount of cotton cheaply. But the Australians will not tolerate the immigration of any colored



THE AUSTRALIAN COTTON PLANT

peoples. They seem to be eager for no immigrants except the kind of whites that come from the motherland. Australians, like us, are given to quick enthusiasms, which often are as quickly dropped. Several years ago there was a fever of excitement over large-scale tobacco production. It quickly ran its course and disappeared. But you can never tell about them. They are enterprising and aggressive. Looking far ahead, I should say that it is not beyond the probable that Australia will become a great cotton-growing land."

To the objection that cotton cannot be grown exclusively by white labor of good living standards, in competition with established cotton-growing regions, the Australians point to Texas and our Salt River Valley as affording partial evidence that it can be done.

Their enthusiasm for the new industry is expressing itself audaciously in several directions. Sterling Taylor, director of the Commonwealth Bureau of Science and Industry, is advising the appropriation of large sums for teaching cotton-growing and manufacture in the public colleges and universities. Already the newspapers are discussing the establishment of textile mills in the cities. A cotton manufacturing plant—its specific character is not given—is reported by one of our official representatives as being under construction at Wentworthville, in New South Wales.

W. G. Wells, an American expert in long-stapled cotton-growing as now carried on in our Southwest, has been engaged at an annual salary of about \$6000 for three years to provide scientific advice. Lieut.-Col. G. Evans, a British expert in cotton-growing as carried on in India and Africa, also has been employed as a scientific adviser.

Yet, at least some Australians are inclined to doubt the promise of the movement. Sir William Beech Thomas says it is a case of sheer "cotton madness." A former trade commissioner to the United States is quoted as saying that "the present cotton frenzy will end as a fizz, as it always has done." One of our official observers writes that, despite the clamor, the undertaking still is in the experimental stage. "It is only one of the many manifestations of Britain's determination to be free of dependence outside of the empire for her primary raw materials," he adds.

No doubt that is true. The century-old hope of Lancashire spinners for adequate sources of raw materials, developed within the empire, has been quickened in recent years by the boll-weevil scourge which is

hindering cotton production in the South. They believe higher production costs brought about by the boll weevil will accelerate the development of new sources. The hope now partakes of an element of serious fear—of severe shortages in cotton supplies on account of reduced production in America and the increase of takings by our mills.

"It is more and more desirable that the world generally should look elsewhere than America for supplies of cotton in future," says Mr. Himbury in reviewing recently for the *Manchester Guardian* the imperial movement for "cotton independence" of the United States.

Australian leaders believe that there will be good markets for all the cotton that can be produced anywhere in future. "This land is capable of supporting 100,000,000 people in comfort," Premier Hughes said a few months ago; "and when that day comes, and we have put under cultivation all the land that will grow cotton, there still will be a market for all we can produce. It is the bounden duty of the Commonwealth to support an industry with such an alluring future."

THE BREAKING-UP OF OLD BOHEMIAN ESTATES

BY LUCY ELIZABETH TEXTOR

(Associate Professor of History, Vassar College)

WHEN the Republic of Czechoslovakia came into existence on October 28, 1918, it found itself face to face with the problem of what to do with the big estates. Many of them were enormous in size and nearly all were owned by families whose sympathies had lain with the Germans and the Magyars in the World War. It seemed unjust to allow these rich lands to remain in the hands of the few while the great body of peasants wrested only the most meager livelihood from their tiny farms or sought to better their fortunes by emigrating to foreign countries. The National Assembly, therefore, passed a number of laws which prevented great land-owners from selling or otherwise disposing of their holdings without its consent and which paved the

way for reducing them to a certain maximum—375 acres of agricultural soil with a possible addition of 250 acres of meadow or woodland.

It was not intended to carry out these laws everywhere and in detail at once. The government was not prepared to set in motion the huge administrative machinery that would be required for so drastic a proceeding. Moreover, in many quarters there was a feeling that the laws would have to be modified in some respects and that it was therefore better to proceed slowly. Thus it happens that though many estates have been reduced in size, few have as yet been completely broken up. The largest and most important of these few is Pardubice, situated in northeastern Bohemia, in

a district often called The Golden because of its fine yellow wheat.

The largest city in this district is also called Pardubice. It has a population of about 25,000, and is a beautiful old place, rich in historic monuments and associations.

The history of the estate shows it to have been in the possession of the Bohemian crown for nearly a century, and of the Austrian crown for something more than two and a half centuries, and to have been the private property of a German noble, Baron Drasche, for thirty-eight years. There does not appear to be any particular reason why it should have been chosen as the first estate to be dealt with according to the law. It is perhaps sufficient to know that Baron Drasche was willing to sell at the government price and that his land being level offered no difficulties to the surveyor. It may be said that the Baron had already sold his castle to a private company who have turned it into a museum which boasts many rich treasures of this section of the country. The estate contained 7612 acres of plough and meadow land and 7513 acres of wooded land. The owner received 12,500,000 Czech crowns and, in accordance with the law, was allowed to retain 375 acres of arable soil and 250 acres of forest. The law provided that at the end of two years he might sell this remnant of his former possession to any purchaser, and that time having now elapsed he has signed a deed of sale.

Protecting Forests and Trees

The government of Czechoslovakia believes in state ownership of forests, and unless there is good reason for doing otherwise it proposes to keep in its own hands those that are taken over from the great estates. The wooded land of Pardubice, with one exception to be mentioned later, is now state property. There are great shadowy stretches of pines growing so close to each other that their tops intermingle. There are long tracts of silver fir. Every now and then there is a patch of silver birch. Occasionally various trees keep company together, the linden and the oak



A PEASANT'S HOME IN CZECHOSLOVAKIA, WITH STRAW-THATCHED ROOF AND WALLS OF MUD OR PLASTER

predominating. Silent places are these, except for the little figure of a child or the bent form of an old woman gathering twigs with which to kindle the fire.

Nor is it only trees en masse of which the new state is careful. No one may hew down a tree even in his own fields without permission from the proper authorities. He must plow around the stalwart trunk; it is a thing of beauty and must be preserved unless the owner can show weighty reasons why it should be done away with. Orchards as such are comparatively few, but many fruit trees have been planted along the roadside. These belong to the district and the little bundle of straw swinging from a branch indicates that the fruit has been sold. Apples, pears and plums abound in this region.

Land for Large Factories

The new land laws are extremely flexible and give the state great latitude in their application. Thus, in order to provide work for the near-by villagers, more than 1000 acres of Pardubice have been sold to an ammunition factory. Most of this was sandy soil which had little agricultural value. The rest was wooded land needed to provide safe places for storing dynamite and powder. This plant is very large and has already cost the company about 45,000,000 crowns; 52 per cent. of the capital is Czech, nearly all the rest is English. The personnel is entirely Czech. The government has agreed to buy all the output designed for military purposes at the cost of production plus a fair rate of interest. The greater part of the output, however, is dynamite and black powder intended for blasting. For the higher employees model

dwellings have been erected, which would do credit to any country from the point of view of sanitation, convenience and beauty. The factory employs about 1000 workmen. The wages are low, approximately 25 crowns a day. I talked with a young engineer who had worked for the English government for £30 a month, but who prefers to help on the fortunes of his own country, at a salary only one-fourth as large. I feel sure that he was not an exception. Loyalty to the new republic of Czechoslovakia takes a very practical form.

The Tenant Farmer Now Buys Land

The land belonging to the munition factory is cut by a highway, bordered with noble trees, which winds its way past the three great villas erected to house the directors of the new enterprise, through the quaint old town of Bohdanec, famous for its baths, on to a series of forty-five ponds.

The agricultural lands of this estate were formerly divided into two parts. One was managed by a director, the other was leased to peasants. The old charts of the former owner show the fields cut up into small parcels each having its own number. Once a year these were auctioned off, so to speak. Each parcel was given to that peasant who offered the highest rent. It happened that many a man obtained the same parcel year after year and came more or less to look upon it as his own. The new land law provides that such a tenant who can produce evidence that he has leased land from the es-

tate ever since 1901 may buy some land, at a small fixed price, be it said. If he has leased the same piece right along, he may buy this without question. If he has leased several pieces at different times he may buy only the smallest of these pieces. About 1750 acres in long lease were thus distributed.

It goes without saying that ordinarily such a piece of land is not sufficient to provide a livelihood for the peasant of to-day, the standard of living being higher than it was. So the government allowed him to purchase an additional piece of land from that part of the estate managed by the director. This second piece was priced somewhat higher. The sum total of the land acquired by the peasant in this way may in no instance be more than twenty acres and need not be so much. Every case at Pardubice was settled upon its own merits. The needs and circumstances of the individual and the size of his family were taken into consideration. Credit was extended to the purchaser and his payments were spread over a long number of years. It should be said that the land given to one individual was not necessarily in one piece. Indeed it was seldom, if ever, so. The rather broad strips were separated from each other by white stone posts set in the ground. Beyond these no boundary lines are necessary. Everything possible was done to make each peasant feel that he was receiving fair play. For instance, in order that he whose land had a few fruit trees might not be envied by him whose land had none, the former was obliged to pay for each tree. It should be said that the sum was small—15 crowns, more or less.

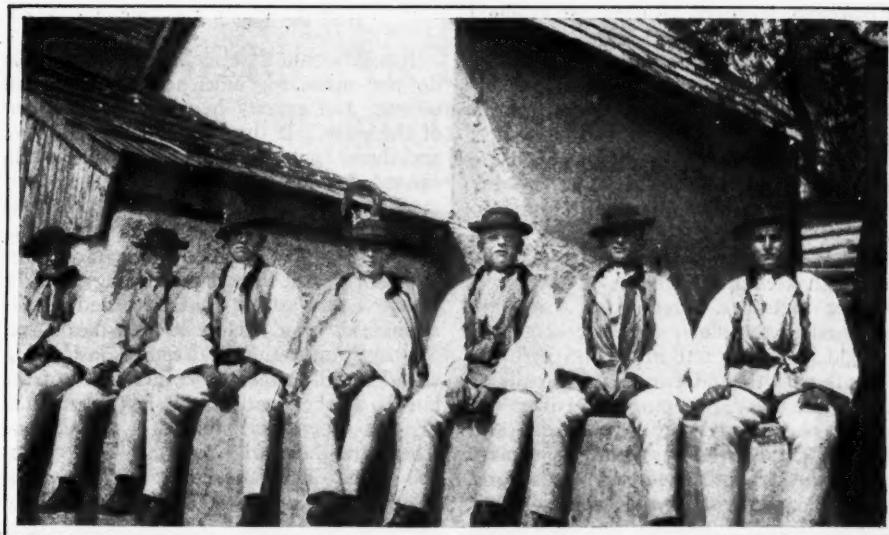
Thousands of New Land-Owners

There was another class of peasants on this estate whose interests had to be given due consideration. These were those who had been employed in one way or another, but who had not leased land from the owner, or whose leases did not run back to 1901. They also were allowed to purchase land if they chose to do so.

All told, the number of



A TYPICAL VILLAGE GROUP, IN THE NEW REPUBLIC OF CZECHOSLOVAKIA



ON A SUNDAY MORNING, NEAR THE VILLAGE CHURCH

those who applied for land was about 2800, and they asked for 16,075 acres. The extent of the whole agricultural area of the estate was only 7612 acres, so that the amount petitioned for had to be greatly reduced. It is evident that not everybody could be satisfied.

The above figures include two large farms. It was felt that the former director of the estate should receive special consideration, since he was being deprived of an excellent position which he had had for twenty-five years. The government, therefore, gave him outright 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ acres. It sold him 8 $\frac{3}{4}$ more, and deducted 20 per cent. from the price. It exchanged the 30 acres which he already had in fifteen separate pieces, for one piece of first-class soil. All this, together with 17 $\frac{1}{2}$ acres which he acquired through his wife, gave him a goodly farm of 65 acres. I talked with this man and found him appreciative of what the government had done. It cannot have been an easy matter for him to give up the task of directing others and to work himself in the fields. But he accepted his changed lot with good cheer and realized that in the end he might achieve a greater competence for himself than if he had kept his former position.

The other large farm owes its existence to the fact that the tenant had leased it from Baron Drasche and that this lease had still eight years to run. There are two units, 210 acres in one place and 350 in

another. The former has a distillery belonging to the tenant and that is an additional reason why he was allowed to retain the land. It gives the neighboring peasants a market for their potatoes. This arrangement is altogether in accordance with that principle of the land reform which affirms that existing industries must not be ruined by inflexible parcelling of the land. Before the law was applied to the estate of Pardubice this tenant had leased 2000 acres. He was now allowed to lease only 560 acres. Nevertheless, since he believed in the law, he accepted his changed fortunes with equanimity. Born of peasant parents, he could sympathize with the poor and desire their welfare to his own hurt. His spacious well-furnished rooms showed how far he had travelled from the humble dwelling which gave him birth. I was particularly struck with the well-filled book case. There was a complete set of Goncharov, the property of one of the sons who read Russian easily. Each of the three sons spoke three languages. Their mother was at Marienbad enjoying the baths.

Rural Life in Bohemia

It was interesting to see the arrangement of buildings on these big farms. All, by the way, are of mortar and are usually tinted yellow. With us in America, the house usually stands apart. Barns, granaries, sheds and the like may be anywhere.

In Bohemia, however, all these are grouped together and ordinarily form a square around a court. Living quarters, stables for horses and cattle, pig-pens, wagon-sheds, store-houses—all of these form a continuous whole. The home of the farmer, large, comfortable to the point of being luxurious, is on the second floor, and the only way out is down the stairs and into the court, where all the life of the farm centers. Here the wagons come and go, piled high with grain sheaves or hay, beet-root or potatoes. Here the cows are harnessed to the plow; here the hens look for food in the great dung heap; here the servants pass to and fro carrying pails of milk to the dairy, pumping water from the well, preparing food for the animals; and here the children of the farmhands play.

Thus the farm in Bohemia is a little world in itself, engaged in all the activities that have to do with cultivating the soil, rearing live stock and providing for the wants of a large ménage.

Each village is a closely clustered group of houses, often with the narrow end toward the street. Such gardens as there are ordinarily lie to the back. The door of the house opens upon the court or yard and here too, as in the large farm, all the activities of the family are carried on. Usually the roofs are of flat, red tiles, but thatch is not uncommon. The methods of husbandry are sometimes quite primitive. I saw a threshing machine where the wheat was passed between two great stone wheels, each one of which had a handle that was being turned by a woman. There is, however, another more common kind of threshing machine. Here the power is created by two cows or oxen—horses are seldom used for farm work in this region—attached to one end of a tree trunk which they drag round and round in a circle. The grain is winnowed by being tossed in a great sieve. Everything about the Bohemian farm is simple, almost primitive.

Will the New Scheme Work?

It will be said that such methods as these do not make for efficiency or maximum output, and exactly here lies the problem of the state. If the small farmer is to live and thrive he must be given more land. He cannot, however, afford to buy the latest machinery and, if he were able to do so, he could not use it to the best advantage on his small plot. Engines work most economically when they move in long, straight lines. Every corner that is turned entails a waste of force. Does it then mean that the partition of the great estates in Czechoslovakia will lessen the annual yield of the land? Is the small farmer being benefited at the expense of the city population? There are those who maintain that this is the case. The so-called great agrarians are of this opinion. There are others, however, who believe that the small farmer will work his land intensively, will enrich it, knowing it is his own, will give his crops greater care than is possible on large areas. If, for instance, his land is planted with the sugar beet, he will plow between the rows, will keep the soil light, so that sunshine and air can pass to the lower part of the plant. And I must say that I saw marvels accomplished in this way both with the beet-root and the potato.

Time only can determine the issue. If it should, indeed, prove true that small farms, even under the best of circumstances, must yield less than the same extent of soil worked as a unit, this drawback would be outweighed by the consideration that a class of society, whose meager existence in the past had prevented its full development, had now achieved the freedom that comes from an assured livelihood and the incentive which arises from a consciousness of being justly dealt with. After all, the people are the bulwark of the state, and that legislation which looks to their welfare must redound to the advantage of both.



LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

America and Europe: Reflections by Colonel House

NEXT to President Wilson, the American who commanded most attention in Europe four years ago was Colonel E. M. House. This was of course largely due to the close personal relations that then existed between the President and Colonel House, but also in no small degree to the wide acquaintance with European public men and the accurate knowledge of world politics that Colonel House had gained from study and observation, dating back to pre-war times.

In the current European situation, differing so widely from what had been pictured by the idealists at the signing of the Versailles Treaty, the views of this ardent supporter of President Wilson are well worth attention. In *Foreign Affairs*, the quarterly published by the Council on Foreign Relations, Colonel House comments frankly on what he believes should be the attitude of the United States in relation to the whole European mess. The title of his article, "The Running Sands," is derived from a sentence attributed to General Smuts: "The sands are running out, and unless some strong hand can even now touch Europe and rescue her from the slope down which she is slipping, the catastrophe of the peace may yet become far greater than that of the Great War." At the outset Colonel House reminds us that circumstances have had much to do with our attainment of a strong position as a world power. Previous to 1914 there were seven powers of the first class. The war reduced these to two—Great Britain and the United States:

If Russia had not been broken by revolution she would have more than held her pre-war eminence, and, holding it, would also have held France in the front rank. If a strong Imperial Russia had survived the havoc of war and had continued her relations with France, together they could have dominated Continental Europe and the greater part of Asia. In this event, the United States would not

have been the commanding figure she is to-day. Therefore, it may be said that by accident of circumstances rather than by design we find ourselves the world Colossus.

It is Colonel House's contention that the new position of the United States has forced upon us new responsibilities with regard to Europe. With three of the great Continental powers disintegrated, he holds that our importance and responsibility are vastly increased.

The question arises, now that we have the power, what shall we do with it? Our isolationists believe it should be used solely for our own protection, and that we should go our way, leaving the rest of the world to go theirs. There is a certain appeal in such a program, which many would like to follow if it were possible. Fortunately, or unfortunately, as the view may be, it cannot be done. In this year of our Lord, 1923, we can no more ignore other nations than one ward in a city can ignore other wards of the same community. The first ward may say that the second ward is unsanitary and deserves the cholera and typhus which have come to it, and that it will do nothing to help. But when cholera and typhus spread into the first ward, then it must in self-protection lend its aid.

That is the position of the United States to-day. We are staying our powerful hand, declaring that a devastated and disease-stricken Europe must save itself.

When President Wilson came home from Paris with the Treaty of Versailles it is estimated that 80 per cent. of our people were in favor of the League of Nations in some form. In the late summer and autumn of 1919 the churches throughout the United States urged ratification of the Treaty, and largely because of the League. A special committee of the American Bar Association at the annual convention on September 4, 1919, urged unqualified ratification. The Massachusetts Republican Convention, on October 4 of that year, unanimously passed a resolution favoring prompt ratification, with some of the reservations that later became matters of discussion in the United States Senate.

Then, says Colonel House, came the irreconcilable conflict between the Legislative and Executive branches of our Government. The President was determined to have his way, the Senators were equally determined to have theirs.

Unfortunately, the Senate had the power to compel the President to yield or lose confirmation of the Treaty, and equally unfortunately, he refused to give way. As far as his approach to the Senate was concerned, in my judgment, the President's purpose was impeccable but his manner unfortunate.

The Versailles Treaty *per se* is no better or worse than treaties framed under like circumstances usually are. It is quite possible to conceive a much better treaty, but it is doubtful whether it would have been possible for the American President to make it better fighting single-handed as he did and under adverse conditions. Let it be remembered that his political party had lost control of both the Senate and the House of Representatives and that the treaty-making power was only partially in his hands. It is unfortunate, on the one hand, that he did not realize this more completely; on the other it is unfortunate that the opposition party did not take a broader and more patriotic view of the situation.

As to the Ruhr trouble, there is general agreement that while failure to pay reparations has been the apparent cause of the controversy, the real cause is the fear of

Frenchmen that when Germany is in condition to pay she will also be in condition to discontinue payment, and, should it suit her plans, to invade France again. According to Colonel House, the only solution is to guarantee France, and accompany the guarantee by a demand that a fair sum shall be fixed for reparations, a sum which Germany can pay. Clemenceau, Wilson and Lloyd George agreed on the Anglo-French and Franco-American Treaties to accomplish this result. These treaties of guarantee failed of ratification.

Yet Colonel House is far from pessimistic as to the future. He says, in conclusion:

The courage and selflessness which were the compelling influences that brought us into the war are but latent, and will leap forth under proper leadership. After 1917-18 Europe will scarcely make the mistake of thinking that we are as timid and selfish as our present attitude would indicate. Our people, native and foreign-born, cherish the belief that this Republic was created to become an instrument for the betterment of man, and not merely a pleasant and safe abiding place. They will not be content until the United States has again assumed the leadership and responsibilities in world affairs commensurate with her moral, economic and political position.

France and Turkey

THE long historical essay of M. Roger Labonne, published in the *Correspondant* for May 10, is on the whole quite frank, and almost impartial. Naturally, he tickles his compatriots once or twice by lamenting the "forgetfulness and ingratitude of the Turks for the unselfish devotion constantly shown them by the French." The adjective is amusing: the phrase is a grave confession of preëminent guilt.

The fact that John Sobieski's victory, which checked the triumphant rush of the Turks across Central Europe, was fought under the walls of Vienna, leaving the Hapsburger the Eastward bulwark of Christendom and the most constant foeman of the Turk, is not mentioned at all. But on the first page appears:

The alliance of France with Turkey was originally intended to serve as a counterpoise to the power of the House of Austria. After the latter's decline, it survived chiefly to safeguard the lives of Christians, and to favor the trade of our own Nationals

It is true that the decay of Spain and Venice, the helplessness of divided Italy, and the inevitable hostility of Austria to

Turkey left France the almost unquestioned protector of Christians in the Levant.

But while avowedly first to invoke the Moslems' aid against Christians, France was no less ready to plot against them. In referring to the remarkable historical volume of a Rumanian historian, Djuvara, which is characterized as "One hundred plans for the division of the Ottoman Empire," it is rather cynically added that France contributed her full share. Especially in the Napoleonic era "there was never a cabinet that did not sketch out a scheme for the cutting-up process. The Emperor had one in his own head: Talleyrand, Pozzo di Borgo, Hauteville, *et al.*, each devised his own menu." When England, as Lord Salisbury used to protest, "bet on the wrong horse" and supported the "sick man of Europe," at least the fear of Russia, with her one eye on the Bosphorus and one on the Khyber Pass, was a better excuse for the lords of India. Louis Napoleon, Cavour and the English fought beside the Turk in the Crimea, as the same three nations stood

together—but against the Turk—as the chief Allies in the World War.

The sorriest chapter in the long story of European jealousy and intrigue, and of consequent Turkish survival, or perpetual revival, is that of the terrible losses by the Allies in the Levant from 1918 to the present moment. This is set forth mercilessly in the chief passage of M. Labonne's article, and truthfully ascribed to the divergent plans and sordidly selfish intrigues of the Allies themselves. The especial pro-Turkish actions of the French are not denied.

We beheld with little feeling the tribulations and exile of the Rayahs [Armenians, Greeks, etc.], expecting to make good the loss of these Christian protégés by closer relations with the Moslem population. . . . France, anxious for peace, was the first of the Allies to offer definite concessions. . . . The Kemalists fanned the flames of discord in the Allied camp. Kemal, like Mehemet Ali before him, was hailed by Parisians as the Providential champion of a heroic and wronged race. When the decisive campaign between Greeks and Turks was on, we definitely sided with the latter. . . . When Smyrna was destroyed, the news of the Turkish victory was received with enthusiasm [in Paris].

But the actual results of this duplicity have caused a rude awakening. The Chester Concession has put a finishing touch to this disillusionment, calling forth even an angry threat of armed resistance from the French writer, and he sees hope only in a stern opposition, by a united Europe, to all Turkish ambitions and aggressions. Meantime, for France especially, more than all the Levantine fruits of victory in the World War are lost. The rapid revival, in

1918-19, of the use of the French language and of the Catholic mission schools, even larger than before the war, is quite reversed.

A Turkish Minister of Education has ordained that every foreign school shall pay liberal salaries to at least three Turkish instructors, who shall teach, at least *thirteen* hours weekly for each student, the Turkish language, history, and geography. As for the thirty-five schools that we had in Asia Minor, the exodus of the Christian populations has compelled us to close their doors. The few still existing, thanks to the presence of Allied troops, in and about Constantinople, are falling off in attendance every month.

No wonder; for since September, 1922, 250,000 Greeks, 85,000 Armenians, and 65,000 other Christians, have left Constantinople. Altogether a million Christian subjects, settled in Asia Minor for centuries, have been exiled within six months.

The financial losses of the French have also been immense. Their military prestige is lost. Thrice already in a few months, the Kemalists have ruthlessly "trimmed the fringe" of Syria's northern boundary, and the French have no stomach to fight for the cities and territories thus seized, for the mass of the people at home are as weary of war as the English.

In bitterness of spirit the writer remarks that the French ignorance of geography has always been proverbial; now it would seem that they are equally incapable of understanding history, or learning its most obvious lessons; for the behavior of the Turk is exactly what it has always been through all the centuries since he entered Europe.

Turkish "Capitulations"

THIS term is an accepted but not over-tactful one, applied to the surrender of any part of the ordinary sovereign power, by a state,—more particularly by Turkey,—to its alien residents. Americans are most familiar with such conditions, perhaps, in China, where no foreigner would expect to be tried, on any charge, in a native Chinese "court of justice." There, indeed, a recent outrage has raised the far more vital question of the actual policing of all great highways under an international control. The extreme conditions of such surrender may be seen in North Africa and India, wherever a bey or rajah still enjoys his palace, a liberal assured income, and low salaams from all folk of his own color while issuing

exactly such decrees as an official European resident approves, or dictates.

Next to Japan, Turkey has been of late the most aggressively recalcitrant against any such foreign bridle. The Turks are a haughty race of conquerors, who hold that their theology includes, and has surpassed, that of the Christians. They are not, properly, a colored race: many could pass for cosmopolitan Europeans.

In the *Revue Mondiale* (Paris), R. Vadala, a French consul in Turkey, writes briefly and trenchantly on the "Capitulations" in Turkey, which the Angora junta is determined to wipe out at once and altogether.

The repercussion grows mightier and mightier in all those African and Asiatic countries where

military or capitulatory power is exercised by Europeans. Every thoughtful man who has lived and labored much in either continent knows that this concerns vitally the whole problem of colonization and occupation. The Africans and Asiatics have their eyes fixed on the Turks [who are accepted as the chief champions of Mahometanism, and indeed of all non-Christian peoples].

The Turks hold frankly the solid ground that "to judge, try and condemn all who dwell on their soil is the chief essential of real sovereignty." As to their customs, duties, and finances generally, also, they are as imperious as ourselves.

But the fact remains that no European's life or property would be for a moment safe under such conditions. There is no intelligent public sentiment to which appeal can be made. The stolid, ignorant common people can be roused at any instant to a merciless and fanatical religious or race war; and the adventurers now or at any time in control have no motive save ap-

parent momentary profit to themselves individually.

For instance, the Asiatic Greek race, now in such deadly peril, has been for centuries the Golden Goose. Heavily taxed always, they have taxed themselves doubly for Hellenic schools, hospitals, and churches. Every petty governor makes on each prosperous Greek his own frequent personal requisitions—shamelessly, safely, and successfully. And yet, every Occidental visitor, whether archaeologist or not, will remember the stealthy midnight caller who offered to sell him an ancient coin, carven gem, small vase, or almost any movable treasure-trove, but never would truthfully reveal the place where it was dug up, rarely his own name. After fuller familiarity gained with language and people, we learned that any revelation as to the discovery of "buried treasure" meant the prompt, mysterious disappearance of the Rayah owner, and confiscation of his estate.

Theology, Religion, and Science

DURING the month of May theological controversy in this country reached an acute stage, particularly in the Presbyterian and Baptist Churches.

In the Presbyterian General Assembly at Indianapolis Mr. William J. Bryan supported a resolution prohibiting the teaching of evolution in schools and colleges controlled by the denomination. This resolution was defeated, but the Conservatives, led by Mr. Bryan, were successful in securing the adoption of a minority report of the Committee on Bills and Overtures, condemning the pulpit utterances of Dr. Harry Emerson Fosdick in the First Presbyterian Church of New York City. This report follows:

The 135th General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church of the United States of America, in answer to the petition of the overture presented by the Presbytery of Philadelphia regarding the public proclamation of the Word in the pulpit of the First Presbyterian Church of New York City, expresses its profound sorrow that doctrines contrary to the standards of the Presbyterian Church proclaimed in said pulpit have been the cause of controversy and division in our Church, and therefore would direct the Presbytery of New York to take such action (either through its present committee or by the appointment of a special commission) as will require the preaching and teaching in the First Presbyterian Church of New York City to conform

to the system of doctrines taught in the Confession of Faith; and that said Presbytery reports its action in a full transcript of its records to the 136th General Assembly of 1924.

Furthermore, the General Assembly calls the attention of the Presbyteries to the deliverance of the General Assembly of 1910, which deliverance is hereby affirmed and which is as follows:

"1. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our standards that the Holy Spirit did so inspire, guide and move the writers of Holy Scripture as to keep them from error.

"2. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our standards that our Lord Jesus Christ was born of the Virgin Mary.

"3. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and our standards that Christ offered up Himself a sacrifice to satisfy divine justice and to reconcile us to God.

"4. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God and of our standards concerning our Lord Jesus Christ that on the third day He rose again from the dead with the same body with which He suffered, with which also He ascended into Heaven, and there sitteth at the right hand of His Father, making intercession.

"5. It is an essential doctrine of the Word of God as the supreme standard of our faith that our Lord Jesus showed His power and love by working mighty miracles. This working was not contrary to nature, but superior to it."

Although preaching from a Presbyterian pulpit, Dr. Fosdick, whose utterances were condemned by vote of the Presbyterian General Assembly, is himself a Baptist.

Members of that denomination have been greatly stirred during recent months by the controversy between the Fundamentalists and the Liberals or Progressives, so-called. Issues were sharply drawn between these groups in the Convention of Northern Baptists held at Atlantic City late in May. But since, according to the principles of the Baptist polity, the individual church is paramount in all doctrinal matters, there was no opportunity for a general pronouncement in behalf of any one body of views.

While the Presbyterian General Assembly and Convention of Northern Baptists were in session there appeared a joint statement upon the relations of science and religion, signed by eminent scientists, religious leaders and men of affairs. It was stated that the purpose of this pronouncement was to assist in correcting two erroneous impressions which seemed to be current among certain groups of persons—the first, that religion to-day stands for mediæval theology, the second, that science is materialistic and irreligious.

The statement was in these words:

We, the undersigned, deeply regret that in recent controversies there has been a tendency to present science and religion as irreconcilable and antagonistic domains of thought, for in fact they meet distinct human needs, and in the rounding out of human life they supplement rather than displace or oppose each other.

The purpose of science is to develop, without prejudice or preconception of any kind, a knowledge of the facts, the laws, and the processes of nature. The even more important task of religion, on the other hand, is to develop the consciences, the ideals, and the aspirations of mankind. Each of these two activities represents a deep and vital function of the soul of man, and both are necessary for the life, the progress, and the happiness of the human race.

It is a sublime conception of God which is furnished by science, and one wholly consonant with the highest ideals of religion, when it represents Him as revealing Himself through countless ages in the development of the earth as an abode for man and in the age-long inbreathing of life into its constituent matter, culminating in man with his spiritual nature and all his God-like powers.

The man who is said to have had most to do with formulating and securing the signatures to this document is the eminent physicist, Dr. Robert A. Millikan, formerly of the University of Chicago and now Director of the Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics at Pasadena, California. Dr. Millikan was recently chosen as Exchange Professor to Belgium on the Hoover Foundation. Among the scientists who signed the document are:

Charles D. Walcott, geologist, president of the National Academy of Sciences, president of the

American Association for the Advancement of Science, and head of the Smithsonian Institution of Washington; Henry Fairfield Osborn, paleontologist, president of the American Museum of Natural History, New York; Edwin Grant Conklin, zoölogist, head of the department of Zoölogy, Princeton University; James Rowland Angell, psychologist, president of Yale University; John Merle Coulter, botanist, head of the department of Botany, University of Chicago; Michael I. Pupin, physicist and engineer, professor of Electromechanics and director of Phoenix Research Laboratory, Columbia University; William James Mayo, surgeon, Mayo Foundation for Medical Education and Research, Rochester, Minnesota; William Wallace Campbell, astronomer, director of Lick Observatory and president-elect of the University of California; Robert A. Millikan, physicist, director of Norman Bridge Laboratory of Physics, Pasadena, California; William Henry Welch, pathologist, director of the School of Hygiene and Public Health, Johns Hopkins University, Baltimore; John C. Merriam, paleontologist, president of the Carnegie Institution of Washington.

The religious leaders who signed it include:

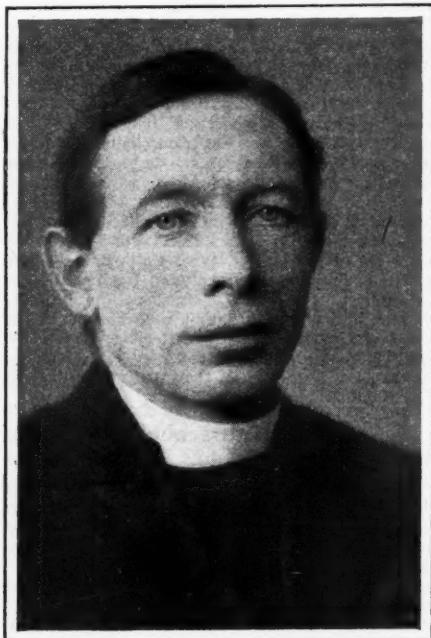
Bishop William Lawrence, Episcopalian, Bishop of Massachusetts, Boston; Bishop William Thomas Manning, Episcopalian, New York City; Bishop Joseph H. Johnson, Episcopalian, Bishop of Los Angeles, California; Dr. Henry van Dyke, Presbyterian, preacher and poet, Princeton, New Jersey; President James Gore King McClure, Presbyterian, McCormick Theological Seminary, Chicago; President Clarence A. Barbour, Baptist, Rochester Theological Seminary, Rochester, New York; President Ernest D. Burton, Baptist theologian, president of University of Chicago; President Henry Churchill King, Congregationalist, Oberlin Graduate School of Theology, Oberlin, Ohio; Bishop Francis John McConnell, Methodist, Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania.



YOUNG DAVID ENTERS THE FRAY

From the *Times-Picayune* (New Orleans)

America's Opium Policy



BISHOP CHARLES H. BRENT

(One of the American representatives at the recent League of Nations Opium Conference at Geneva. Bishop Brent presided at the International Opium Conference at The Hague in 1911)

AT THE recent meeting in Geneva of the Opium Advisory Committee of the League of Nations the Right Reverend Charles H. Brent, one of the representatives of the United States, made a speech from which the following paragraphs have been taken:

I speak not as a visionary moralist or as a stranger to the Orient. For twenty years I have been identified with the narcotic problem in its every phase. For sixteen years my home was in Manila, and the life of the Orient became my life. Filipino, Malay, Burman, Formosan, Chinese, Japanese, I came to know each in his own home. I honor and respect them all. Forced to a practical conclusion as to the best way of dealing with opium in the Philippines, I agreed with my colleagues on the Philippine opium investigating committee of 1903-'04, after a comprehensive survey of the administrative measures in operation in every country and colony of the Orient, on a policy of progressive prohibition:

"1. That opium and the traffic therein be made a strict government monopoly immediately.

"2. That three years after that shall have been done no opium shall be imported, bought or introduced into these islands, except by the Government and for medicinal purposes only."

Our recommendation as to the government

monopoly was not carried out, but restrictive and remedial measures were at once put into force preparatory to prohibition, and by act of Congress, in 1908, opium became contraband in the Philippines, except for medicinal purposes. Then smuggling, always busy, quickened its nefarious trade. As early as 1906 experience had taught me that in this complex problem salvation for the one could come only through the salvation of all, and I proposed to the American Government international action. With what result you know.

To-day if the opium-producing nations protected the interests of their neighbors as they protect their own the Philippines would be rid of any serious drug addiction. But Macao and British North Borneo are the chief sources of constant reinfection. It is only a matter of equity to add that so far as the Straits Settlement and Hongkong are concerned there has been sincere and careful effort on the part of these Crown colonies to leave nothing undone to prevent smuggling at the ports of export.

Bishop Brent proceeded to point out that there are three principal opium-producing countries whose governments legitimize trade in the drug—Turkey, Persia and India. The product of Turkey and Persia is of high grade (10 per cent. morphia content and upward). These two countries supply an amount of opium more than equal to the entire quantity demanded by the world for medicinal purposes. Their over-production, which is very great, eventually takes the form of morphine, heroin and codein, India, on the other hand, provides the low-grade opium (8½ per cent. morphia content and downward). No medicinal opium comes from India. Bishop Brent is convinced that not more than 10 per cent. of the world's present output of opium is required for medicine.

To an alarming degree China is a producer of opium, but not by law:

Edicts of imperial days forbidding the importation and use of opium were systematically beaten down by outside trade. No nation but China has ever deliberately destroyed great stores of opium and the paraphernalia connected with it. To-day China is the victim of former exploitation and her own present weakness. The republic has the most drastic laws ever enacted, but the old enemy of local tyranny and gainful production makes them of no effect. China is sick from head to foot of her body politic. We must figure out how we can best help her in her weakness and abjure any temptation to make profit out of her misfortune, as well as how we can defend ourselves from the effect of her back-sliding.

Pressure has been brought to bear on Peking to establish a government monopoly of opium on the specious ground of creating revenue. All around her she sees conspicuous examples of it. As I have already observed, I did recommend a three-year

term of government monopoly for the Philippines. I am glad the recommendation failed to carry, for I have come to see its peril. When it is discovered how lucrative a method it is for purposes of revenue, governments easily dissemble with themselves and postpone reform indefinitely. In 1903 we were assured by responsible Japanese that by degrees the

government control in Formosa would yield to prohibition. After twenty years it remains a revenue-producing trade. It is playing with fire to establish a government monopoly, unless perhaps as a temporary expedient leading up to prohibition and to be ended at a definite date, the nearer the wiser.

Luther Burbank, the Plant Wizard



LUTHER BURBANK AT HIS CALIFORNIA HOME

RECENTLY the City of Santa Rosa, California, where Luther Burbank has lived and worked for nearly half a century, celebrated a jubilee of his labors. Two generations of Americans have marvelled at this man's exploits in the plant world. We are sure that many of our readers East and West will be interested in Morton Todd's interview with Mr. Burbank, which appeared in the San Francisco *Argonaut* for May 19 last. In this article Mr. Burbank is not represented as claiming any special exemptions because of his advanced age:

He is, perhaps, about medium height, and is brown from so much grubbing about outdoors, and speaks in a pleasant voice, with simple directness, in language a plain man can understand; which would seem to come from dealing with realities instead of book stuff. We chatted for an hour and a half, during which I considerably let him do most of the talking, and he used only one botanical term in all that time: when he referred to a lanceolate leaf. If he wanted to call a leaf hairy, he just called it hairy; he did not try to hide it, or keep its condition to himself, by calling it hirsute; and if Bur-

bank can do that, some of the botanists whose science seems to consist mainly of cryptic nomenclature might do the same.

Mr. Burbank is seventy-four years old. His achievements are represented, with some distortions, in five-foot shelves of books, and an effort even to epitomize them would have no stopping place. The world knows some of the things he has done for it, but a few might be mentioned in passing as a sort of measure of the man.

There is the Burbank potato, now propagated under many names, with qualities and accomplishments the natural potato never thought of—a sort of trained vegetable, and that way of characterizing it conforms to Mr. Burbank's way of thinking about plants: he considers that he trains them, and the title of one of his books is, "How Plants Are Trained to Work for Man." The training cannot be made effective with the individual plant, but only over several generations, through cross-breeding, environmental influences favorable to variation, selection of those with qualities valuable to man, and rejection of the others; so it is the family that is trained, not the individual.

"The potato," said Mr. Burbank, "is a wonderful story in itself. We find it in its earliest form high in the Chilean Andes, making a few little roots in the cracks of the rocks, and going mostly to tops and seed because so few seeds can germinate. And the roots would extend so they would have to be traced six or eight feet to find a little tuber as big as a marble. I had a collector in Chile, after primitive potatoes and other things, and sometimes he had to blast to get them out. The original plant was so weedy that in lower ground and more favorable soil it ran to tangled vines and became a pest. But in better environment it would sometimes produce more valuable roots, for human consumption. On the island of Chiloe it seemed to find its favorite elements, and a tremendous number of varieties have been produced there."

In this country the potatoes were nubby and small and subject to rot, and when they ran to any size it would be in one direction so that they looked like lady fingers. Sometimes they would be all eyes running clear to the center. They had to be trained to produce good roots, and that was a matter of selection and inviting surroundings. They had to be taught to stay in the hill. I began my work on the potato in 1872, back in Massachusetts. I found the seed-ball of an Early Rose, which seldom bears seed, and got thirty-two plants from it that were practically all different. From these came the Burbank potato. I sold it for \$150. It has probably contributed \$150,000,000 to the food values of the world.

After he had been challenged by a blacksmith to make a white blackberry, Mr.

Burbank trained a "blackberry" bush to produce a pearly white fruit.

And he showed wonderful gladioli that grew all round the stem, and to immense size. And there is the Shasta daisy and multi-colored larkspur, and new kinds of popcorn, and the earliest tomato in the world, wilt-resisting and capable of two crops a year, and the ever-bearing strawberry, and a white, hull-less, beardless barley, and California poppies that are red and alarmed a poor old lady who wrote to him her fears that he was going to turn all the poppies in California red, and a mammoth perpetual artichoke, and an improved corn, and a giant white sunflower heavy with chicken food beyond any other, and good for silage and the sunberry, and a most productive variety of oats, and giant dahlia zinnias, and calendulas. There is a walnut so prolific and of such rapid growth that it might be relied upon some day to reforest the earth.

Mr. Burbank has even trained the cactus of the desert to go without its spurs. The fruit is sweet and juicy and a real addition to human diet, as well as to that of ani-

mals. About five years ago the Salvation Army introduced Burbank's spineless cactus into India, and now the Government is planting it all over that country.

Mr. Burbank has introduced nearly fifty varieties of plum into horticulture. When he began there were no varieties produced in California considered worth shipping. He has also produced a hybrid of apricot and plum—a thing which the scientists had said could not be done.

It is well understood that Mr. Burbank believes with Lamarck that acquired characteristics are transmitted by heredity. Burbank, however, has modified the hypothesis to this extent: that the acquired characteristic may not appear for generations, but inheres in the strain as a potency, to assert itself under the stimulus of favorable environment.

A One-Story Plan for a Large School Building

THE consolidated country school at Wayzata, Minnesota, is comfortably housed in a one-story structure after it had been found that two- or three-story buildings, large enough for the school's needs, could not be erected for the money that was available.

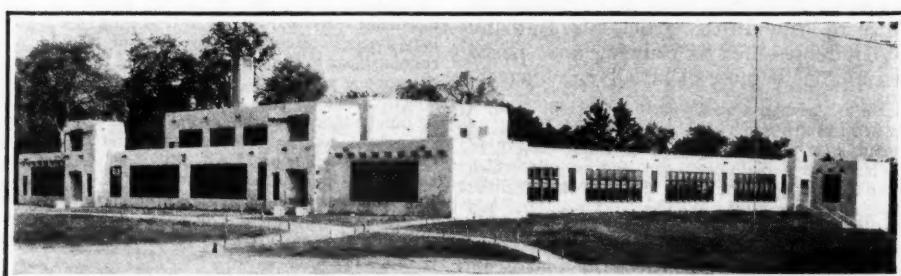
The architect, Mr. Edwin H. Brown, writing in the *Nation's Health* (Chicago), for May, ascribes the economy in cost to the following reasons: Lighter foundations, simplicity of corridor-space, lighter walls, saving of space by the omission of large stair walls and a simplicity of heating layout. The general construction of the building is outlined as follows:

In the design of the exterior and carrying out the design of the interior the architects fell back upon the principles of primitive American archi-

ecture untouched by the more recent developments in architecture throughout the rest of the world. The building follows the general architectural feeling of the Pueblos of New Mexico and Arizona. With its large interior court and the low parapet walls every room in the building has ample lighting, and in all the class rooms and study rooms this lighting is unilateral. Every class room where pupils sit or live has sun in it at some time of the day, the only rooms which do not have sunlight during the winter months being the domestic science room, and in our long summer days in Minnesota the sun comes in there in the early morning and late afternoon.

Minnesota has unusually definite requirements for the building of its schools and any school building in Minnesota must conform rigidly to the minimum requirements.

It might be said in closing that this Consolidated School serves as primary and high school and is operated along the general lines of what is known as the six-three-three system, six grades in the primary school, three in the junior high and three in the senior high.



THE CONSOLIDATED SCHOOL AT WAYZATA, MINN.

(Designed by Hewitt & Brown, Inc., architects and engineers, and Charles L. Pillsbury Company, consulting engineers)

A Dutch Burgomaster as Financial Dictator of Austria: His Training

AS Holland is small, highly educated and bureaucratic, she has performed each task of administration with the thoroughness of her housewives when they scrub the rough pavements or their brass and pewter.

So those who follow closely foreign affairs were not surprised to learn that a Burgomaster of Rotterdam had been chosen as High Commissioner of the League of Nations to supervise the remaking of Austria. William A. Du Puy writes to the *New York Times* (May 27) how he got the whole story at first hand from Dr. Alfred Zimmermann, whom he happened to meet on the express from Zurich to Vienna.

Austria, whose condition a year ago was the worst of them all save Russia, was emerging. . . . And this Dr. Zimmermann, this Dutchman from the Low Countries, was the instrument of salvation. Certainly he did not look as one would expect a Dutch Burgomaster to look. My conception of such an official is that he should be built on Santa Claus lines, short but spacious, long white hair and mustaches, with a huge pipe that rests confidently on a portly undulating front. But this Dr. Zimmermann looks for all the world like Alton B. Parker, who ran for President in Mr. Bryan's off-year sometime back. Six feet tall, 180 pounds, bald, suave, an aristocrat, a man of the world, master of four or five languages, is Zimmermann. For fifteen years he was Burgomaster of Rotterdam, and it was because of his reputation made on that job, a reputation for efficiency and incorruptibility, that he was chosen to go to Vienna.

Lloyd George in 1922, when appealed to by Austria, had suggested that the League of Nations should work out some scheme to salvage the wreck, which was done. In the first place, Austria's national integrity was guaranteed by her neighbors. Her customs and tobacco monopoly were offered as security for a loan and were considered ample if Austria reformed her administration. So 100,000 of the 300,000 officials on the payroll had to be dismissed, 25,000 every six months. Money should not be printed; a new bank should be created which should issue money only when there was gold or collateral back of it. The budget of Austria was 570,000,000 gold kronen. That budget should be reduced in the course of two years to 350,000,000 gold kronen. A schedule of the progressively lessening amounts that might be spent each month for twenty-four months should be made up.

Austria should have from the League only these amounts each month.

At the same time Austria was to begin progressively so to adjust her revenue laws as to bring her income steadily up. At the end of two years her income must be 350,000,000 gold kronen. The League exacted that this entire program must be enacted into law. The Austrian Parliament met and did the whole job in a few weeks.

As an aid to selling the bonds, the League got Great Britain, France, Italy and Czechoslovakia to agree that each should guarantee 20 per cent. of the loan. Other nations made up the remainder, so that the loan would be safe even if the customs and tobacco taxes did not meet the interest and amortization. The loan was for about \$200,000,000, which will stabilize Austria for the next two years. It is hoped then that her budget will balance, and the customs and tobacco revenue will thereafter go toward paying off the loan.

Dr. Zimmermann's task is simply to examine the monthly budget the Austrian Government brings to him. If it differs from the League's schedule, he points his finger at the discrepancy and sends the budget back for revision. Austria gets no money until the monthly budget corresponds to the League's schedule.

Mr. Du Puy observed that the major evidence of stability since Dr. Zimmermann took hold in December has been the maintenance of Austria's kronen at the level of 70,000 to the dollar.

The Dutchman's one purpose is to get Austria's house in order. He is stubborn, hard-boiled. He realizes that it will be necessary to embarrass Austrian politicians, to cut and slash as they would never do. He does not need to curry favor. He is advised and supported by the Austrian Committee. . . . But Austria as a nation has got to make a good many adjustments. She raises but 40 per cent. of her food and must bring it up to 70 per cent.; she must develop her limitless water power so that her coal bill may be reduced. She must get into the production of materials she may export in exchange, for her workmen are peculiarly clever.

Dr. Zimmermann in his talk to the delegates of the American Chambers of Commerce in Vienna on April 17 (*New York Times*, May 6) said:

As a whole, I am satisfied with the progress made. In March we cut the budget deficit down to 307,000,000 kronen—or one billion less than the monthly average provided for—and I have good hope that we are now on the road to budget equilibrium. We are now negotiating a second loan along the same lines as the first, but on an even broader basis, and its prospects seem excellent. Here we have real peace, not war continued through peace. Here we have the internationally guaranteed independence and integrity of a state. Here we have an international loan secured by assets nor mortgaged for reparations debts. Here

we have a control to prevent the squandering of money by demagogic. Here, in short, we have all the elements which have also in your country so often been pointed out as the first conditions of post-war construction.

Dr. Zimmermann's hopes for the success of Austria's second loan were more than realized on June 11, when both the British and American quotas were promptly oversubscribed. (See "The Progress of the World," page 20.)

Government Control of Alcoholic Liquors in Switzerland

ON June 3 a referendum on a constitutional amendment was submitted to the Swiss voters. The proposition was rejected by a vote of 350,000 to 250,000.

The whole subject is most interestingly discussed in the *Bibliothèque Universelle et Revue Suisse* for May, by Ernest Chuard, member of the Federal Council, and evidently the leader of the reform movement.

We are not facing any plan to introduce prohibition, nor one intended to lead in that direction. Our country is not ripe for such experiences, and we do not desire ever to become so. We greatly prefer that through education, instruction, wise and prudent legislation, the abuse or abuses shall disappear, without forbidding moderate use.

The latest constitutional provision was an amendment adopted by popular vote October 25, 1885. (The Referendum for Constitutional amendments is provided for in the Constitution of 1874.) This subjected to Federal control by legislation, the manufacture and sale of *distilled* liquors with a notable series of exceptions, namely, "those distilled from grapes, fruits with stones, or seeds, gentian, juniper and similar materials."

This was a compromise measure, necessary to win a majority vote. The great danger then threatening the general health and future of the nation was brandy ("eau-de-vie") distilled from grain, potatoes, or sweet roots, like beets. This was generally made in homes, rich or poor, throughout the country. It was intended to favor, by comparison, the merely fermented liquors—cider, beer, wine, which were less dangerous, and when used in moderation not regarded as harmful at all.

But brandy is also distilled from fruits.

At that epoch, however, this was barely an eighth part of the total production, but was extremely popular, really less harmful and generally regarded as a harmless home industry. The beloved *kirsch* (cherry brandy) was the chief element in this class. To attack it would have put back the whole reform for many years. Hence the illogical compromise.

Federal legislation under this section created a government monopoly as to importation, with limitation and firm control of the distilleries. An actual reduction in use per capita from 4.72 litres (quarts) to 2.71 was the direct result. The use of fermented liquor meantime increased, but the total quantity of alcohol per capita really was lessened.

But in the course of the last four decades fruit-culture has increased by leaps and bounds, until "chiefly in Central and Eastern Switzerland, the whole country is for long stretches one vast orchard." Apples are, to be sure, to an ever-increasing extent, used for cider. But the residue in the presses, too often also the spoiled, unmatured, or excess fruit itself, feeds the distillery of eau-de-vie. A highly profitable industry, lodged in a few hands, has thus been built up, and the government "control," now exercised at a loss, has only held up the price for these privileged distillers.

The present imperative reform is intended to bring all distilled liquors alike under government control. The retail liquor trade, in quantities under two quarts, is expressly reserved constitutionally for the twenty-two separate cantons, or states, which may regulate it as they please.

The new crisis and the proper means for

meeting it have been subjects of anxious study in the Federal Council of seven, since 1915. The Council's proposal was submitted to the federal assembly on May 27, 1919. It is not proposed to create a government monopoly, but a complete and stringent control which shall discourage and lessen consumption, and at the same time secure to the government the chief share of the profits.

The net profit from taxes on importation, rectification, on all purchases by wholesale and the international and inter-cantonal retail trade, must be divided by the federal government into two portions, as received: Sixty per cent. going to the several cantons pro rata according to population, and only 40 per cent. to the federal treasury. Moreover, the latter must appropriate 5 per cent. of its portion "to the struggle against alcoholism," and the other 95 per cent. to pensions for the aged, invalids, widows and orphans, or insurance against illness and accidents. Even the cantons are required to use 15 per cent. of their receipts, also, in the anti-alcohol agitation, and more largely to preventive

measures than to care of the victims. These provisions are no doubt largely a sop to the more radical reformers who regard all profits from the traffic as unhallowed. The return fully counted on is 25,000,000 francs annually for the cantons, 15,000,000 for the central government.

In order to put before the voters a clear and simple problem a later date is set for the Referendum on a minor question: viz., certain modifications in the much-discussed two-litre limitation of "retail" trade.

The writer is intensely in earnest, and feels that alcoholism is the greatest peril to which his people are exposed. For instance, he quotes, as generally accepted, the theory that alcohol is the chief cause of tuberculosis. He calls on all thoughtful and patriotic Switzers to rally to the cause of reform, fully expecting the success and efficacy of the proposal for amendment of the constitution:

They will be fighting the good fight, for the public health, for the preservation of the family, and for the future of the race, which draws its strength from our rural districts, unhappily most threatened by the plague which threatens to destroy it.

The Recent Earthquakes in the Pacific Ocean

GEOLOGISTS are profoundly interested in the seismic disturbances in the Pacific Ocean, in the vicinity of Chile and Hawaii during the last few months. Indeed, the far-reaching extent and violence of these make them of general interest. Because of this, *Reclams Universum* requested the eminent geologist, Professor C. Gagel, to prepare an article upon the subject, from which we quote as follows:

On November 11, 1922, at 5:35 A.M., Central European time, there occurred one of the most violent earthquakes of which we have any record—the great catastrophe in Chile, whose effects were truly frightful and which was followed three days later by another violent disturbance which caused the disappearance of Easter Island, situated 2500 kilometers to the west of the coast of Chile [the report concerning Easter Island proved incorrect] and as a result of which serious disturbances are continuing even now [two or three months later] in the southeastern region of the Pacific Ocean and in the Sandwich Islands (Hawaii).

On the above-mentioned day at 5:51 A.M. the Potsdam seismograph indicated a slight disturbance, 9 minutes later a more serious one, while at 6:50 A.M. it registered a shock of an intensity and magnitude such as had never before been recorded. In periods of 18 seconds, the ground of the Potsdam Earthquake Observatory vibrated with opposite

directions for distances of 5 millimeters which signifies that the whole building oscillated back and forth for a distance of 1 centimeter; subsequently slighter vibrations occurred several times until finally at 9:51 A.M. the last "following" waves were recorded. On the next day, the first telegrams were received indicating the west coast of South America as the origin of this truly monstrous disturbance of the crust of the earth, and during the next few days a number of communications were received concerning the damage done.

Over more than 20 deg. of latitude from Valdivia (40 deg. s. latitude) to Iquique (20 deg. s. latitude), a distance of 2200 kilometers or almost one-third of the entire west coast of South America, the most violent tremors occurred, the cities of Copiapo, Coquimbo, Valenar, LaSerena, and Carizal lying between 27 and 30 deg. s. latitude were almost entirely destroyed, and even in Constitucion, south of Valparaiso, the severest damage was done. In a direction at right angles to the longitudinal axis, electric light systems were destroyed and time-pieces stopped 1300 kilometers east of Copiapo in Buenos Aires.

A glance at an atlas will show the significance of the figures given above, since they indicate that the severest sort of earth tremors were felt over an area of 20 deg. of latitude and 35 deg. of longitude, covering at least 8,000,000 sq. kilometers of the surface of the earth. A large part of the rail-



RUINS CAUSED BY THE EARTHQUAKE OF NOVEMBER 11, 1922, AT COQUIMBO, CHILE

(This photograph, taken on the morning after the earthquake, shows relief workers searching the ruins for dead. The large steamer in the harbor is aground at low tide.)

road running along the coast of Chile was incidentally more or less seriously damaged, while an enormous tidal wave about 20 m. high swept over the unhappy land, overthrowing many buildings which had withstood the earthquake itself and drowning great numbers of men and animals.

The greatest earthquake previously recorded was the celebrated catastrophe at Lisbon, which took place November 1, 1755, just 167 years previous, and it is probable that this earlier one was even greater and more devastating in its effects. With respect to the causes of such overwhelming cataclysms, Dr. Gagel writes as follows:

There can be no doubt that we have to do here with one of the greatest of the so-called tectonic earthquakes, *i.e.*, with a shattering of the crust of the earth due to enormous cumulative strains which gradually overcome the firmness and elasticity of the rocks forming the solid earth crust, tearing them apart and thrusting the torn portions against each other until a new state of equilibrium is—temporarily—obtained, and if we pursue the question further and ask the cause of such strains and tensions in the crust of the earth, we come in this instance face to face with one of the most remarkable facts concerning the surface of the earth, a fact quite unique and without any analogue upon the rest of the known earth.

Along the west coast of the Americas, especially South America, there arises the second greatest chain of mountains on the earth, the Cordilleras of the Andes, running only a short distance eastward from the main area of the catastrophe . . . while

immediately west of Copiapó lies one of the deepest abysses of the sea.

Thus we have within a comparatively short distance a variation of the earth crust, ranging from over 6000 meters in the mountain chain, to 7635 meters of depth beneath the surface of the ocean. In other words we have a difference vertically of over 14 kilometers in an area measuring scarcely 200 kilometers from east to west, a difference which is quite unexampled elsewhere on the globe, since Mt. Everest, the highest point on the earth, is not quite 9 kilometers high, rising only about 7 kilometers above its base. This enormous difference of level within a comparatively narrow strip is quite sufficient to explain why the west coast of South America is subject to the ravages of frequent and severe earth tremors. It is a matter of record that about 1000 earthquakes occur on this coast annually, constituting about 21 per cent. of all recorded throughout the globe.

Another very violent earthquake, indeed, occurred on February 3, 1923, followed as before by a tidal wave. This tremor was recorded in all the seismographic stations of the United States and in many places in Europe; it occurred in the eastern part of the Pacific Ocean and affected particularly the Hawaiian group, doing serious damage in Honolulu. At the same time renewed activity on the eastern and northern edge of the Pacific Ocean was recorded.

The Historical Novelist of Czechoslovakia, Aloïs Jirásek

SINCE the armistice we have been reviving our recollections of bits of history and literary gossip about the small nations which have emerged from the war. The public has grasped the three essential ideas about Poland—Sienkiewicz, Paderewski and Pilsudski—Pan Michael, Chopin and the Polish Legion. And in 1920 *Poet Lore* (Boston) added the name of Jirásek to that of John Huss and Masaryk for our Czech conception—the Bohemian Waverley, the martyr reformer and the Citizen President of Czechoslovakia floating by to the strains of Dvořák's *Humoresque*!

The play *Dobromila Rettig*, so excellently translated in the 1920 *Poet Lore*, gave a lively picture of a merry housewife of the Bohemian patriotic revival of 1836 who secretly taught Bohemian to girls and students while ostensibly training the maids to cook and the young bachelors to sing part songs. "The Lantern," which has been available in German since 1906, is a sort of Czech "Midsummer Night's Dream," with the Watteau masks gliding ever so gayly through an allegory of the national destiny.

Aloïs Jirásek was born on August 23, 1851, at Hronov near the Silesian frontier. M. H. Jelinek writes in the *Revue bleue* (Paris) for May 5. Hronov is now a center for the textile industry, but in Jirásek's boyhood his father's cottage was one of a group of white frame dwellings thatched or tiled and clustering around the church with its old wooden tower. Here Jirásek stood with his goats and sheep beside the road as von Moltke and the Prussians marched to Sadowa, and saw the next day the dead heaped in the fields and the public square of the town. When the boy went to college at Prague he studied history and literature, and his first post as professor of history was at Litomyšl where he remained fourteen years. Jirásek was then promoted to Prague and after thirty years of service as a teacher he devoted his entire time to literature.

Like the novels of Walter Scott and Benito Perez Galdós, Jirásek's forty-four volumes form a complete history of his country. *Skalaci*, the sanguinary *Jacquerie* at Nashod of the famished Czechs against Count Piccolomini in 1775, first portrays the movement of the people in revolt which is at once Jirásek's chief aim and greatest strength. He handles masses as Zola and Carlyle did. It is the Czech nation in its glory, its abasement and its admirable restoration that he heralds or mourns. Then came the "Day of Glory" which was a study for the Hussite epic "Against Every Man," which he wrote fifteen years later of the small nation

when it fought like Cromwell's England against Emperor, Pope and all Europe for its religious ideal. Next, Jirásek celebrated the rustic gentry who went to trail pikes in Poland against the Teutonic Order after the stirring Hussite wars ("In Foreign Service").

"The Crags" tells the sad plight of the exiles after the defeat of the Bohemians by the Austrians in 1620 and the loss of their independence, while "The Brethren" describes the last stand of the Hussite troops for young King Ladislas, assailed by the Hungarians.

The genius of Aloïs Jirásek was like an autumn fruit slowly ripened by the late August sun. For he was sixty years old before he reached his full power in the tragic theme of his country bound and delivered to the fanaticism of the Hapsburgs and their Jesuit satellites, and summing up his entire work in the Bible of the Czechoslovakian republic, *Tenebrae* ("The Valley of the Shadow").

The Czech drama owes to Jirásek "A Father," a peasant vignette which was given in Brussels in 1921; the *Emigré*, or the Hussite exiles, John Huss, John Zizka and John Rohac; and *Gero*, the tragedy of the Pomeranian Slavs. The *Dobromila Rettig* is a study for *F. L. Vek* and "The Lantern" is a reflection from days spent in the rococo Prague archives as well as of the



ALOÏS JIRÁSEK
(Novelist and patriot)

pastoral charm of "Back Home," a record of the poet's boyhood in the Hronov border hills.

Fate reserved a rare gift for her singer [concludes Monsieur Jelinek]. After having for forty years consoled, instructed and fortified the nation by evoking her heroic and dolorous past, Jirásek was called to play an active part in the pageant he had painted so long in the pages of his novels. While the Czechs, answering the call of Masaryk, marched into Siberia, the old master signed the

"Manifesto" of Czech writers to the vacillating politicians, and on May 13, 1918, swore allegiance to Liberty in the name of the nation. At the first polls of the new republic Jirásek was elected Senator from Prague and given the freedom of the city in every town in Bohemia. On his seventieth birthday his bust was placed in the foyer of the National Theater and the day was declared a national holiday. In spite of all his honors, the master remains modest and retiring and is content only when he can take refuge in his country house at the foot of the Hronov mountains, where as a lad he kept his father's flocks.

Reorganization of Public Libraries in France

AS a nation we are apt to laud our material achievements so exuberantly that our very real merits in the technic of applied design and in administration are forgotten.

While the courtesy extended to men and women of letters in Europe for the pursuit of knowledge is a rare flower of the spirit offered to the Americans who have had to do their work in the more democratic public libraries at home, yet the general public are not catered to as they are here. Reference librarians, librarians for children, children's story hours, public indexes and bulletin boards are practically unknown. This is particularly the case in France, where good books are published on good paper for less than a dollar and where the circulating library at a cost of several sous is almost invariably around every corner next the cigar store. A wit has said: "France's public libraries are mainly distinguished by the fact that they are never open to the public!"

In the *Revue bleue* M. Marcel Clavié has been writing a series of articles on the reorganization of public libraries in France. The need in France is the reverse of our need here—more attention must be given to the comfort of the general reader, who wishes to find the library of his district or ward open at whatever hour it may be convenient for him to spend some time there. Numerous complaints have been made about the delay in furnishing the public with books, and the purchase departments need new vigor and initiative in the acquisition of philosophic, historical, critical, scientific and pedagogical works. The latest dictionaries are often wanting, as well as good translations of the principal works of foreign authors of reputation. In the periodical departments technical and

musical reviews are not subscribed to, nor are there any of the younger and stimulating reviews of the latest efforts in art and literature and politics.

The reply of the administration is always that the finances of the City of Paris are in a bad way, but M. Clavié points out that the sixty-two libraries installed in the communal schools could be closed with advantage and the cost of their upkeep expended on the twenty central public libraries.

In one of the towns M. Clavié found the reading rooms very clean, but no periodicals on the rack. The librarian replied to his query that the mayor and his wife and the aldermen's wives carried off all the new reviews and only returned them ten, twenty or thirty days afterwards! In other libraries M. Clavié was told of collections so valuable that the catalogues were not even shown to the general readers for fear of injuring the books! In some of the towns there were no indexes accessible to the public, the careful curators having removed them to the Directors' Room.

A considerable number of these provincial libraries had not even received the visit of a general inspector of the Library Bureau for the past eight or ten years. The chief fault of the old system is that at the Ecole des Chartes, where the French librarian is trained, he is brought up to work at bibliographical tasks, at catalogues and his own special research trail, and to scorn contact with the lay reader. Every time he is called from his ivory tower to answer a question by a mere mortal the ex-Chartist feels insulted. M. Clavié does not think highly of the Dewey decimal system, which is a contemplated innovation in the cataloguing of French libraries, but one is not greatly impressed by criticism of any American system introduced in a school

where there are not even courses for the training of reference librarians!

To mention Paris alone [M. Clavié ruefully concludes], Paris, whose intellectual circle is the hot-house of Europe, it is painful to state that the city whose writers from the time of the *Pléiade* to the

XVIIIth century, through the Romantic, Naturalistic and Symbol movements up to the virtuosos on modern social themes who are our contemporaries—the *Ville Lumière* has not a single public library comfortably installed and open to the public every day of the week from 9 A. M. to 10 P. M.!

Barcelona and the Forward Movement in Catalonia

TO GET some idea of the regional differences in Spain, the alien should travel up from Madrid through the orange and bistre arid stretches of Aragon, and the sparse vegetation and poverty of the mountain farms, to the intensely cultivated market gardens of Catalonia. Where the olive trees hide the rocky patches on the hills, and the grape arbors give shade and pleasant saunters around the neat white cottages, a Catalan has claimed the soil for Latin culture and has extended further inland the dominion of the Mediterranean sea rovers, his forefathers. The express winds around some spur of the high *mont*, as the Catalans say, and below, spread out like a fan, is the Provençal city, Barcelona, with her broad avenues proudly rising with their feathery palms from the sea, an uncut sapphire in the gold of the sand. The wharves and docks of the city's commerce are hidden in the curves of the port, but the avenues sweep up from the beach and the softly lapping water like giant peacocks.

Señor Puig y Cadafalch, the President of the practically autonomous government of Catalonia, reviews in a recent number of *Le Feu* the rôle of Barcelona in the progress of Catalonia.

For centuries the countryside has remained quiescent as a Spanish province, but the city has grown from a small town to a powerful center of industry with more than a million inhabitants. But Barcelona never forgets her mission as true daughter of the Mediterranean to guide and adorn with Latin culture the youth of her country. One may dream for a moment in the cloisters of her Cathedral, but out on the streets the senses are active, the heart beats fast, and the brain is spurred to its utmost effort.

The *Mancomunidad*, or regional government, works with admirable harmony and accomplishes marvels:

We are devoted to high culture, and to the popularization of knowledge. While we have established the International Institute for Advanced Study, with monographs; the laboratories of experimental psychology, the Forum for Jurists, and the Physiological Institute; we have opened public libraries in a number of Catalonian towns, we have organized the General Education Commission, the Vocational Institute, Normal Schools, Summer Schools, Nurses' Training Schools and schools for professional women, industrial schools and elementary and secondary schools for commercial training. All this has been done in the last three years, when the Barcelona Deputation left us the care of the Institute for the Study of Catalan, the Catalonia Library, the School for Political Study and the Industrial University for Applied Art and Crafts.

The central government at Madrid had neglected disgracefully the care of the national monuments, geographic and geological cartography and meteorology, so the *Mancomunidad* had a heavy task in these branches. In agriculture we have enlarged and brought up to date the School for Agriculture. The professors now go on field service throughout Catalonia and give practical instruction to the farmers in fruit growing, viniculture, the proper manures, forestry and grafting. The Institute for Applied Mechanics also works with this service and opened last year a free exhibition of agricultural machines and a tractor competition. Lying-in hospitals, poor institutions, charity hospitals and homes and savings banks, municipal loan institutes and civil service training centers have completed this remarkable forward stride of a Latin region, until three years ago handicapped by the sloth of the Moorish Spain of Madrid.

Another Catalan, Señor Joan Estelrich, writes of the more modern literature of his city:

In seeking for the most genuine Catalan traditions, we have noted how our predecessors knew how to keep in touch with Europe. While retaining our own flavor, we have not formed a group apart, open to African influence. New Catalonia hopes as in the past to be admitted to high communion with the patriotic and esthetic ideas of the European mind. To attain this end, Catalan writers hold in reverence the Graeco-Latin culture and the example of France, "eternal transmitter of universal leaven." They have as a model the Kingdom of Norway, a small people but a great nation—a qualitative and not a quantitative civilization.

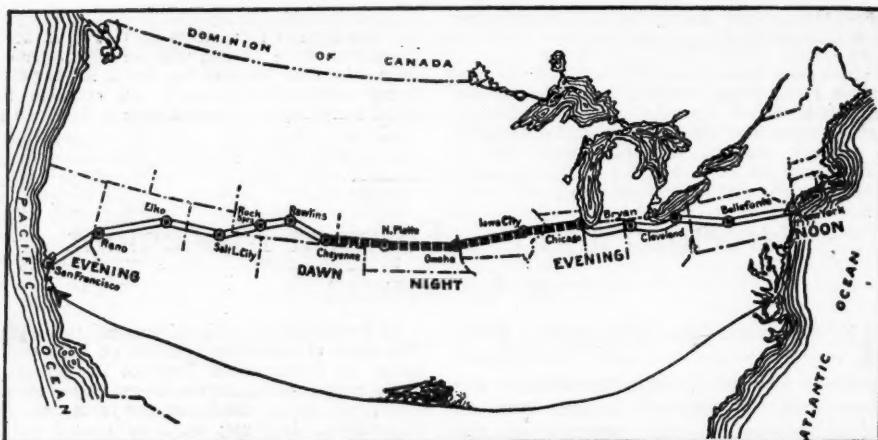


DIAGRAM SHOWING HOW THE AIR MAIL SERVICE CROSSES THE UNITED STATES

(Under a schedule to be put in effect late in the present summer mail will leave New York at noon and be received in San Francisco on the evening of the next day)

A Day-and-Night Air Mail Service

FOR fourteen months the Post Office Department has been making careful and elaborate preparations for the continuous day-and-night air mail service from ocean to ocean, which, it is announced, will be inaugurated during the present summer. According to an article in the *Monthly Supplement of the United States Official Postal Guide* (Washington, D. C.), the 3000 miles between New York and San Francisco will be flown in 28 hours, and one-third of the distance will be covered by night. The flights involved will, it is said, be the longest sustained journeys by air ever undertaken at night, with the exception of transatlantic exploits. The air mail will leave New York just before noon and reach Chicago at sundown. From this point another pilot will take the mail to Cheyenne, traveling all night along a line marked out with beacons. A third plane leaving Cheyenne at dawn will reach San Francisco before sunset. The launching of this service will indeed, as the postal authorities claim, mark a milestone in the history of both aviation and transportation.

The preliminary enterprises of which this will be the culmination are thus recorded:

Air mail service has been in operation in the United States since May 15, 1918, almost five years. The Washington-New York route was first established and then the Chicago-New York route. Two and one-half years ago the transcontinental

service was undertaken and the other services, New York to Washington, Chicago to St. Louis, and Chicago to Minneapolis, were discontinued. But the transcontinental service has not been through service. Its purpose was to advance the mails. Mail planes would pick up late mails in New York, for example, and carry them to Cleveland, placing them on the Chicago express train which had left New York the night before. Expediting the mails in this way was an aid, but it was recognized that the Air Mail Service must advance out of its auxiliary status to be worth maintaining. Through service from coast to coast will put air mail on the basis of an independent postal service. Upon the efficiency of through transcontinental service depends the ultimate value of air mail.

The Post Office Department has gathered a large fund of flying experience, and has placed its daytime flights, totaling about 2,000,000 miles a year, on such a basis of efficiency that 95 per cent. of the scheduled trips are completed and accidents are extremely rare. Night flying, however, presents different problems and the Department has done wisely in deferring the inauguration of its new service until it could assure a reasonable factor of safety to its pilots. The postal authorities now claim that, in view of the thorough preparations that have been made,

the night flights between Chicago and Cheyenne, Wyo., will be made under conditions which offer scarcely more hazard than day flying. The pilot will be guided by a pathway of powerful beacons capable of piercing through difficult atmospheric conditions, pointing the way unerringly over the prairie to the terminal fields. Each plane

will carry powerful searchlights available for forced landings in case of necessity. Emergency fields have been located and lighted every 25 miles on the route. In addition to these precautions and many others the practicability of night flying is insured by the natural advantages of the terrain over which the pilots must guide their planes. The plains country is, of course, noted for its levelness, fortunately providing natural landing fields, while the lack of humidity in the air lends this route to the illumination plan.

Millions of people in the Middle West will nightly witness an artificial aurora borealis, visible fully fifty miles from its source under good atmospheric conditions, when the night service of the air mail gets under way. This will be created by sweeping lights which will be established on the five regular fields, Chicago, Iowa City, Omaha, North Platte, and Cheyenne. Each of these beacons will have 600,000,000 candlepower.

The air mail beacons will be quite different from the shore lighthouse beacons which guide the ships of the sea. To suit the needs of ships of the air, they will swing around on the top of their towers, throwing a beam three degrees above the horizon, three complete revolutions being made every minute. Pilots can easily pick up these giant beacons and guide their planes to the field. The lights will only be operated at hours when a plane is expected.

Not depending alone on terminal lights, the Post Office Department is locating less powerful beacons at emergency landing fields every 25 miles along the route. Like their larger brothers, they will also swing around the horizon, but their visibility is limited to about 30 miles. These smaller beacons will mark the emergency landing fields to which a pilot can descend in case of necessity.

But the pathway of light is not complete yet. When the "ceiling" is low—that is, to translate the language of the pilots, when the clouds hang low—it may be necessary for a pilot to bring his plane close to the land and there is a possibility that he might lose sight of the emergency field beacons. As a final safeguard flashing traffic lights, like those which are placed on city streets, but whose light will be directed toward the skies instead of along the surface of the ground, will be located every three miles along the line of flight. Thus, on a clear night, the air mail pilot 7000 feet up in the blue-blackness of the heavens, will see a narrow line of light stretching for miles and miles over the level prairies.

Here is a description of what the Maywood Field, at Chicago, will look like at night:

The huge field itself will be outlined with lights spaced about 200 feet apart. A 50-foot windmill tower will support the great beacon steadily swinging around the skies. The hangars and airplane shop stand out in daylight perspective illuminated on every side by gooseneck floodlights, such as are used on billboards. Any large chimneys or other tall obstacles in the vicinity will have warning red lights. In one corner of the field is a large illuminated "T" which turns in the wind. This gives a pilot wind direction.

On top of the hangars another type of floodlight throws a pattern of light on the field. This light is placed high enough to prevent any glare in the



GROUND WIND-INDICATOR

(The cross of the T always stands transverse to the wind. It is illuminated at night. One of these devices has been located every twenty-five miles between Chicago and Cheyenne)

eyes of the pilot. Experiments prove that a pilot can land directly facing the beam without any difficulty. Two cinder runways, 2000 feet long, bisecting the field, are outlined with lights sunk in the ground and covered with glass and a heavy iron grating.

Having taken a midnight glance at the field, let us take a look at the mail plane which has just arrived from Iowa City. On the lower wing tips of the plane are two lights, small but powerful, each of which produces 250,000 candlepower. These a pilot uses in an emergency to light up obstacles. Red and green navigating lights as well as the lighted cockpit and the red glare of the exhaust lend picturesqueness to the scene which will be typical in a few months.

With the establishment of night flying it will be possible to send a letter by air direct from San Francisco to Chicago or New York, or the reverse. Since the Post Office Department is anticipating a considerable use of this fast service by the public, it is regarded as probable that the establishment of through service from coast to coast will be accompanied by the announcement of the use of a special airplane stamp.

Two purposes will be served by the establishment of through transcontinental air mail service: the public will receive the fastest mail service known to man over extensive distances, and, secondly, another step will be made in the United States' pioneer work in the field of aviation, a task which is one of the chief reasons for the establishment of air mail service.

England's Coal Trade with Europe

CHOOSING for his theme a recent book by former Prime Minister Francesco Nitti, "*L'Europa senza Pace*," G. Speranzini, in *Politica* (Rome) critically examines the aims and tendencies of English diplomacy. In his work Signor Nitti affirms as the chief glory of England that after having put forth all her strength in the war, she is now striving with equal ardor for peace. The striking contrast between England and France is that while France seeks to drag Europe into the abyss wherein she herself has fallen, England is endeavoring to prevent this and to save Europe.

Still, he is forced to admit that this difference in policy is inspired by a difference in the economic position of the two countries. Great Britain looks upon the resumption of peace as a condition of life, while for France the great desideratum is to oppress and stifle Germany, even if peace is not to be had. However, the British Government does not propose that Germany, which as a result of the war has become the great international debtor, should be exonerated from her obligations, but it is so profoundly impressed with the economic injury done to the world by the present state of things that it is ready to abandon many of its rights to financial reparations if some equitable international arrangement can be carried out.

After summarizing Nitti's views the writer in *Politica* proceeds to correct or modify them in certain particulars. He finds that one of England's chief aims in the war was to put her own great industries in the place occupied by those of Germany, and that to-day her competition with the United States concerns the question of petroleum. Coal and petroleum, the soul and the fabric of all states, constitute the dream, one might almost say the nightmare, of England at the present time. Though so favorably inclined to disarmament on land, as to naval disarmament, England is already reproached by the United States with failing to comply with the recent treaty agreements. In the meanwhile, although England is perhaps not disinclined to mitigate the pressure of the reparation payments upon Germany, she finds in the 25 per cent. duty on German exports an excellent check upon German industrial competition.

Without question coal may be called England's bread. As has been said by

R. H. Tawney, a member of the Coal Commission of 1919, the factor which has served to transform the United Kingdom from a land of scattered rural communities into a rich and prosperous aggregation of great industrial towns, has been precisely the abundant coal deposits with which England has been endowed.

If England has consented to the French occupation of the Ruhr district, with its rich coal mines, and does not place any obstacles in the path of French policy in this direction, however much she may protest against it, this is due to the fact that this French occupation of the great German coal areas, and of the immense industrial zones, instead of producing coal has caused it to remain unmined, a result that can only redound to the advantage of the coal industry and commerce of England. If instead of merely gaining possession of the deposits, the French had really been able to have the coal mined, the writer thinks that England would not have contented herself with the part of a vigilant neutral, as she does now.

Since American coal is rarely imported by England, the enemy in this field is the Ruhr. France, by means of the coal she has already received as reparation payment from Germany, and because of the reduced activity of her foundries, steel works and other industries, is able to compete victoriously with British coal, and sells millions of tons to Switzerland, Belgium, Italy and other countries, as also, strangely enough, to Germany herself.

As an example of the influence on British prices, coal has been forced down from 79 shillings a ton in 1920 to but 22 shillings a ton in 1922. In the hope of arresting this depression, England, having established a price of 240 francs a ton on the coal exported by her, obliged France, Italy and Belgium to credit Germany with the difference between that price and the 85 francs a ton they were obligated to pay to that land. This difference of 155 francs a ton in favor of Germany was to take the form of a loan to her, the proceeds of which were to be used in raising the wages of the German coal-miners. By this means England staved off for a time the fall in the price of her coal, but the rapid depreciation of the German paper mark upset these credit arrangements.

Coöperation between Parents and Teachers: Practical Methods

THE recent rapid growth of parent-teacher organizations in the United States is by no means so remarkable as the fact that this important development in education was so slow in getting under way. The advantages of close coöperation between parents and teachers in the training of children are, for the most part, quite obvious. Parents ignorant of school methods and teachers unacquainted with the home environment of their pupils work more or less at cross purposes, to the detriment of the child.

The history and aims of the movement and the various activities to which it has given rise in different parts of the country are set forth in the current number of the *Bulletin* of the U. S. Bureau of Education (Washington, D. C.) by Ellen C. Lombard. Concerning its antecedents and its present extent we read:

Mothers' meetings inaugurated in 1855, in connection with the kindergarten movement in the United States, seem to have been the precursors of the parent-teacher associations. A mothers' conference was called by a kindergarten training teacher in Chicago in 1894. Three years later a National Congress of Mothers was called in Washington, D. C., by a group of mothers, in which the interests of all little children, the home, and the community were discussed. A permanent organization of mothers was formed at that time, and plans for the study of problems relating to child welfare were developed. In 1900 a formal charter was granted this organization in the District of Columbia.

Mothers and teachers discovered that they could accomplish more if united into a coöperative organization than was possible when each worked separately. Parent-teacher associations came into existence in response to the expressed need. Other organizations with various names but similar purposes came into existence also and united in this national organization. Among them were the parents' leagues, home and school associations, mothers' leagues, mothers' unions, pre-school circles, reading circles, etc. In 1908 the National Congress of Mothers changed its name to include parent-teacher associations, and in 1915 a new charter was secured.

The movement has developed until the parent-teacher association has become the dominant national activity of parents and teachers. Associations have been organized in every State, in Alaska, and Hawaii.

State organizations have been effected in forty States in affiliation with the national organization.

During the three years 1920-1922 the membership of all these organizations increased from 189,000 to more than half a million. The national organization has its

headquarters in Washington, with an executive secretary in charge. There is also a field secretary. Concerning the purposes of these associations and the methods of organization, the writer says:

The definite aims of parent-teacher associations are as follows: To surround children and youth with an environment adapted to their growing needs; to bring together parents and teachers and others for the study of child nature and all questions relating to the care and proper guidance of children in the home and elsewhere; to cooperate with educational institutions intelligently; to work for the creation of kindergartens in schools where they are needed; to work for public welfare, with regard to health, morals, recreational facilities, children's courts, mothers' pensions, etc. These activities are carried on through committees appointed for this work.

The parent-teacher organization is not formed to interfere with the administration of the school in its discipline or its curriculum. It should not purchase, except in an emergency, equipment that the school board should furnish from the public funds. It should be warned constantly against permitting the organization to be used to further politics, but it may join with other clubs in endorsing certain principles in matters that affect children which are to be embodied into law. Its name should not be used to further the interest of any commercial enterprise.

Parent-teacher associations may be organized in each grade of schools, or may be organized for entire schools and in high schools. These organizations may vary in name, but not essentially in purpose. They may be called mothers' circles, home and school associations, parents' leagues, pre-school circles, parents' councils, parent-teacher associations, etc.

A somewhat detailed account is given of the parent-teacher activities in different States, of which the following paragraph, relating to California and Colorado is typical:

In California, the State having largest membership, the associations raised over \$150,000, which was used to better teaching facilities, to furnish more school equipment, hot lunches at minimum cost, milk for undernourished children, scholarships for needy students, etc. Over \$30,000 was spent for playground apparatus and musical instruments. California reports that more and more the men in school districts are identifying themselves with parent-teacher associations. Fathers and teachers represent 20 per cent. of the attendance. Work in rural schools has been emphasized in Colorado. To become a standard rural school, according to the rulings of the State department of public instruction, a school must have a parent-teacher association. When schools reach the standard a bronze plate is nailed on the schoolhouse. The increasing interest of men in these organizations is shown in the reports of some States.

New Studies of Mental Differences Between Boys and Girls

MUCH has been written by our poets, our novelists, and our men of science, on the mental differences of the two sexes, and it is not long, indeed, since it was a subject of expatiation by certain ministers of the gospel. The measuring of these differences, however, by definite psychological tests and carefully planned experiments is a comparatively recent thing. One of the authorities upon the subject is the German psychologist, Professor A. Wreschner. His findings show that some of the old empirical theories are quite correct, while others are mistaken. We find them summarized in a late number of *Naturwissenschaftliche Umschau* (Berlin) as follows:

To begin with, the differences in sensitiveness between the two sexes are quite considerable. In the correct sense of the word women are more sensitive than men; the threshold of sensation lies deeper in them; for example, they feel a much smaller weight as a burden than do men. The same thing is true of the senses of taste and smell, which are much stronger in women, whereas, on the contrary, sight and hearing are stronger in men. Probably color sensitiveness is stronger in women, but men have a more delicate sense of hearing and a higher sensitiveness for the phenomena of light.

In brief, women are more sensitive to everything that has to do with the emotions and men to all things connected with the understanding, with respect to which the threshold of discrimination is more deeply seated in men. In other words, the difference, for example, between two weights is felt more definitely by men; women are also inferior to men in making comparisons, estimating distances, etc., being more apt to make small mistakes with respect to these than are men. In the domain of movement men are decidedly superior. They react to movements more quickly than women and pay more attention to them; women depend more upon impressions.

The conditions which govern the formation of a coördination are quite different in different instances. For example, if the task is to select from a pile of gaily colored cards one of a definite shade, women solve it more quickly than men; if, however, we stress the precision of the coördination, if, for example, the task set is to touch the middle of a pane of glass fifty times, the men excel at it, for which reason men are decidedly better shots than women. They effect their movements with more precision and have more control over them, and in connection with this lies the fact that the handwriting of the two sexes is very different. Women write more quickly than men, with a lighter stroke, and usually in a larger "hand." When the writing task is increased in difficulty, women write in a smaller hand; that is, they try to lessen the amount of work to be done, whereas in a similar instance men increase their pressure, *i. e.*, work harder.

Equally interesting were Professor Wreschner's investigations of the memory, in which he made studies of school children. He found that at fourteen or fifteen years the girls were superior to the boys; but boys understand how to form more penetrating conclusions from emotional impressions. The girls show an evident superiority only in the retention of words, and even here this memory is exhibited only in so far as the experimental words express visible or perceptible impressions or emotions. Boys grasp abstract ideas, especially mathematical concepts, much better than girls. With respect to durable retention, women learn meaningless syllables better than men. They belong to the optical type, *i. e.*, they work more with visual concepts, whereas men prefer the acoustic type.

In memory associations women form more sense impressions than men in a given time and in connection with a definite concept. Men concentrate better. To stimulus words women react more slowly than men, *i. e.*, they are not so quick in discovering a related concept. In such tests men stick in the main to the same grammatical category, replying, for example, to an adjective with another adjective. The woman, therefore, is more original, much more dependent upon the conditions of the moment, although in general the female range of ideas is less active and less easily excited. It often happens that the women are unable to find an answer for the stimulus word, whereas the men frequently respond in a purely automatic manner. Here, therefore, we see that the much vaunted intuition of the women is lacking. They also show a smaller wealth of ideas and repeat certain answers oftener than men, sticking more to the surface of the thing.

The thought associations of women are more obvious and individual than those of men. This is doubtless a disadvantage for scientific thinking, which requires greater actuality; on the other hand, the content of the idea is for this reason fuller and richer, so that it would be incorrect to deduce female inferiority from this phenomenon.

In the experimental study of statements and observations it was found that the women formed more statements beginning at about the time they reached maturity. Below the age of fourteen the boys were superior to the girls. In the latter there is a sort of mental standing still at about the age of eleven, but when they reach maturity at about fourteen they are superior to boys, even to youths three or four years older than themselves. This should offer food for thought to the parents and teachers

of adolescent boys and girls. Another interesting observation was that women have a better eye than men for every-day happenings, which the professor considers a characteristic result of the modern tendency to specialization on the part of the sterner sex. We must remember, however, that these results were based upon studies of German children and it is quite probable that in all of the European countries the special training of boys for their future life work begins much earlier than in America. Another interesting point, not touched on here, which some of our own psychologists may well study, is the effect of coeducation in modifying these mental differences.

Boys form more statements with respect to things and girls more with respect to persons. It is important to the science of criminal psychology to know . . . that suggestibility decreases yearly in children and that girls of fourteen are less suggestible than boys. . . .

When six-year-old children were tested at the time of their entrance into school,

the girls were found to have less general knowledge than the boys. However, the girls were superior to the boys in certain kinds of knowledge—that of social and religious truths, of the effect of the weather, and of questions of domestic and family life. Amusingly characteristic of this was the fact that a great many more girls than boys knew the word "wedding." But our author warns us that we must not conclude that all these differences are due merely to early training. He remarks that teaching and training exert an unfavorable influence upon many qualities of the sexes, by which he apparently means they tend to modify them, so that when these differences appear in spite of a similarity of training they must have a deeper origin. He concludes his remarks with the wise observation that the difference of the gifts of the two sexes implies no disadvantage, each sex being most highly gifted in that domain in which it is most capable of acting. But he thinks it unwise to give the two sexes an education of uniform character.

Common Misnomers of American Animals and Birds

IN AN article published recently in the *REVIEW OF REVIEWS* ("The Farmer's Persecuted Friends," September, 1922), some incidental comment was made on the incorrect popular names of American mammals and birds, and instances were cited. The matter seems worth fuller consideration, because in this way a great deal of misinformation—some of it harmful—is being fostered.

Beginning with the names of mammals, adopted from the ignorant, or poorly informed English, French, or Spanish settlers, there are fully half a dozen, which are incorrect (but are still in use), applied because they appeared to fit creatures in this country which seemed to resemble, but were more or less different from, animals of Europe. For instance, the bobcat (*bay lynx*) is not so badly misnamed, since he is a true cat, and has a tail "bobbed" by nature—presumably for his convenience. But our American "buffalo" (correctly, *bison*) is widely different, even in appearance, from the Asiatic or African species. The American males are distinguished by a huge

growth of hair about the shoulders, entirely wanting in the foreign types.

"Coyote" is a term of Mexican (Spanish) derivation, from the *coyotl*, applied to the common prairie wolf—sanguinary enemy of the western cattle herdsman, and a true wolf in appearance. But the early plainsman found him called by another name, so they adopted that; which at once conceals the animal's real nature.

"Caribou" is the Canadian-French name of the common American reindeer, which the animal strongly resembles. So, if the creature had been called "reindeer" from the first, the term would have been nearly correct and would have conveyed a hint as to the animal's character.

The so-called "elk," of this country, is really not an elk at all, but is a true *deer*, and should be referred to as a Wapiti deer. He was misnamed "elk" by the early settlers, because they thought they saw in the animal a resemblance to the European elk, quite a different animal, though both have wide-spreading antlers. But the American form is a distinct species. They are closely

related, however, so the misnomer is not a bad one.

By the same token, the moose, correctly speaking, is a *deer*, and the largest of the deer family, living or extinct. "Even the Irish elk, with antlers which, in at least one specimen, spread 9 feet 3 inches, was a smaller animal," says Dr. Hornaday ("The American Natural History," p. 139). Etymologically, "moose" was evidently derived from the Indian (Algonkian) word, *musu*, meaning wood-eater, or wood cropper, the reference being probably to the animal's feeding habit of browsing on twigs.

"Fisher" is the name commonly applied by woodsmen to the pennant's marten, a large weasel-like mammal, which lives much in the heavy forest. Why "fisher," has never been satisfactorily explained, for the animal does not even try to catch fish; in fact, it does not seem even to like the water. The explanation has been suggested that the creature sometimes follows a trapper's line of traps for miles, apparently to rob the traps of fish bait. For it certainly likes fish to eat. At any rate, the name is an unfortunate one, because it suggests a characteristic which the animal does not possess. (Incidentally, it is the one mammal which has learned how to kill a porcupine—by turning him over, and biting him on his exposed and unprotected belly. How he learned that trick, seems to be one of Nature's secrets. Even the big and clever bear gives "porky" a wide berth.)

"Groundhog" is another rank misnomer for the common woodchuck. Of course, he isn't a "hog" at all, and doesn't even look like one, except that when he is big and fat, he "waddles" a good deal. Correctly speaking, he is a burrowing rodent—a *rat*; and does not even faintly resemble a hog—except, possibly, that he has a short, rather bushy tail. But he never roots—with his nose, as a hog does—and his legs are much shorter, proportionately, than are a hog's.

But "prairie 'dog'" seems about the worst misfit in American popular natural history terminology. Like the woodchuck, he is a true burrowing rodent, and scientifically a *rat*. It is hard to understand how the term "dog" ever came to be applied to him. He doesn't in the least resemble one, except that he has a short tail, which he wags fre-

quently, in a rather nervous manner; and it might be mentioned that he is a sociable little creature, and lives in great colonies.

The American birds seem to have fared somewhat better than the mammals. "Bull-bat," a popular name for the common night-hawk, conveys the most distorted meaning of the misnomers among birds. "Night-hawk" is sufficiently inaccurate, for the bird is not a hawk, but a member of the whip-poor-will tribe, and very much like that bird. He is more like a flycatcher, since he lives chiefly on insects. How the name "bull" came to be applied is a mystery. Perhaps because at the end of his great aerial dive, during the breeding season, he utters a loud, roaring sound, which, imaginative people may fancy, sounds like a bull.

Our cuckoo, so-called, is doubtless named after the European bird of the same name, but a widely different species, both in appearance and habits. The European cuckoo is a parasite, and foists its egg on smaller birds, as our cowbird does. The American species does nothing of the kind, but builds a nest of its own, albeit a poor one. Furthermore, European cuckoos do not pair; while the American birds do. The "prairie pigeon" is a Franklin *gull*, and not remotely related to the pigeon tribe. It is rarely seen on the sea-coasts, except during the winter months, but is common in the prairie-land, where it follows the plowmen, and feeds eagerly on the grasshoppers. The "pheasant" (in the South, and sometimes in the North) is the ruffed grouse, or partridge, and totally different from the imported English pheasant.

The "sea swallow," of the ocean, is the common tern, essentially a water bird, and entirely unlike any species of swallow, except that it has narrow wings and is a rapid flyer. The "black woodcock" is the pileated woodpecker, one of the largest members of the woodpecker family. In the foregoing enumeration no mention is made of local names for birds. There are many of these, some of them supposed to resemble the bird's notes, or in allusion to its feeding habits. The common flicker or golden-winged woodpecker, for example, has no less than a dozen popular names of these kinds, and most of them quite different from one another.

News from Nature's World

A Destroyer of Trees

THE common field mice (known locally as "meadow mice," "pine mice," "buck-tailed" mice, "black mice," and so on) are destructive pests, whose operations cause great losses to the farmer, orchardist and owner of fruit- or shade-trees. Entire groves, or groups, of trees are completely and irreparably destroyed by the little creatures, and it behooves the owner of such property to guard it well, especially in the winter and spring months, else he may find possibly an entire orchard ruined, perhaps overnight. Young shade-trees are in equal danger, for the destroyer is not at all fastidious as to his appetite, which he is likely to satisfy chiefly at night while the owner sleeps.

The Biological Survey, of the Department of Agriculture, has recently produced a careful consideration of this important subject (by D. E. Lantz, assistant biologist), in the form of a Farmers' Bulletin (No. 670), which is distributed, free of charge, to all who apply for it, and is a valuable publication. According to this source, "over fifty species and races [of field mice] occur in the United States, and nearly forty other forms have been described from North America. Old World forms are fully as numerous. For the purposes of this paper no attempt at classification is required, but two general groups will be considered, under the names of meadow mice and pine mice." The Bulletin continues:

Meadow mice are injurious to most crops. They destroy grass in meadows and pastures; cut down grain, clover and alfalfa; eat grain left standing in shocks, injure seeds, bulbs, flowers and garden vegetables; and are especially harmful to trees and shrubbery. The extent of their depredations is usually in proportion to their numbers. Thus, in the lower Humboldt Valley, Nevada, during two winters (1906-8) these mice were abnormally abundant, and totally ruined the alfalfa, destroying both stems and roots on about 18,000 acres and entailing a loss estimated at fully \$250,000.

When present even in ordinary numbers meadow mice cause serious damage to orchards and nurseries. Their attacks on trees are often made in winter under cover of snow, but they may occur at any season, under shelter of vegetation or dry litter. The animals have been known almost totally to destroy large nurseries of young apple trees. It was stated that during the winter of 1901-2, nurseries near Rochester, N. Y., sustained losses from these mice amounting to fully \$100,000.

Older orchard trees are sometimes killed by

meadow mice. In Kansas in 1903 the writer saw hundreds of apple trees, 8 to 10 years planted, and 4 to 6 inches in diameter, girdled by these pests. . . . In the Arnold Arboretum, near Boston, during the winter of 1903-4, meadow mice girdled thousands of trees and shrubs. If the injury is not too extensive, prompt covering of the wounds will usually save the tree.

Pine mice—also very destructive—are treated in much the same way, in this bulletin, and methods of destroying both species are described. Trapping and poisoning methods are recommended specifically, and there is a section devoted especially to "protecting natural enemies of mice," which should be read by all who are the victims of their voracity. Gulls, shrikes, cuckoos and crows among the birds are mentioned, not to say the hawks and owls. "Owls," says Mr. Lantz, "as destroyers of mice are deserving of special mention. Not one of our American owls, unless it be the great horned owl, is to be classed as noxious. . . . All these prey largely upon field mice, and seldom harm birds." . . .

Forestry Conservation

Though there appear to be real grounds for apprehension concerning the inroads upon some of the great national parks quietly planned by certain of the lumber interests (notably in the Yellowstone National Park), a far different note comes from some of the central States, especially Wisconsin and Michigan. These States seem to have awakened to a realization of the possibilities of the parks as places for public play and recreation, and a well-defined movement to utilize them for such purposes seems to have set in. The magazine *American Forestry* has published several articles devoted especially to the State parks of Wisconsin and Michigan, with many fine photographic illustrations. The Wisconsin parks were treated by Mr. Henry C. Campbell, assistant editor of the *Milwaukee Journal*, who remarks that "a State policy which aims to grow timber on all non-agricultural land that is adapted to the purpose, forms the backbone of an outdoor program of construction and reconstruction that is winning general support in Wisconsin in a way that is most gratifying. The program is so sound, far-seeing and appealing that opposition to State forestry, which only a decade ago was very

strong and bitter, has all but vanished. There now exists, in fact, a public sentiment that is proving to be a positive force in the political life of the State." Continuing (as to Wisconsin), Mr. Campbell says:

It is a varied and comprehensive program. Its aims include the production of timber that Wisconsin needs for all ordinary purposes, and a surplus for export. The creation of community forests as well as State forests is contemplated. The rebeautification of Wisconsin, the conservation of wild life, the opportunities for recreation and the increase in the summer tourist trade that will result from public forestry, when practised on an adequate scale, are an integral part of the program. The organization of an ample and efficient system of fire protection is urged as a measure most essential to the conservation of the virgin forests that remain, which means the preservation of some of Wisconsin's old-time beauty as an absolute prerequisite to reforestation. Hundreds of miles of the shores of many streams and lakes in Wisconsin are bare, and it is pointed out that the first work in the way of reforestation should be done in these places to restore a natural setting to every lake and stream. This, it is made known, would conserve wild life by providing cover for the deer and other game, and would better fishing by providing food and shade along streams and along lakes. . . .

The program seeks to provide that . . . there shall be established three or four State parks, ranging in area from 6,000 to 10,000 acres. These would contribute a charm of wild natural playgrounds in the big woods. In addition, appeals are being made to villages, cities and counties in all parts of the State to preserve spots possessing real scenic interest, such as waterfalls, gorges, wooded river valleys, and sections of inland lakes, as well as spots of historic interest, by transforming them into public parks. The idea is that the State shall acquire large public parks and the counties and municipalities shall provide the small parks that are desirable or necessary. . . .

Radical measures in the interest of anglers and hunters are advocated. It is proposed, moreover, to devote the large income derived from hunting licenses, which is now spent for a number of purposes, including the propagation of fish, to the one object of fostering the interests of the hunters. . . .

The last-quoted paragraph reminds one of the remarkable revival of hunting in New Brunswick, Canada, brought about by the passage of the famous Game Act of that Province, in 1893. A writer, describing some phases of this remarkable conservation movement in New Brunswick, says:

Indeed, there was, for a long period, as much ruthless and stupid slaughter of game in New Brunswick as ever disgraced any section of the United States—which is saying much! This was the work of hunters, trappers and lumbermen, resident and non-resident, who, twenty-five years ago, roamed the great forest of the Province, killing indiscriminately, at all seasons, all kinds of

game. . . . As the result of this continuous slaughter, these fine animals had been almost completely exterminated by 1888. Then the people of the Province awoke to the situation and began to harken to the protests of certain "quixotic" sportsmen and visionary public officials, who had long cried out against this heartless and senseless slaughter of creatures which, they averred, could be made a valuable asset. And so it came about that, in 1888, a close season of three years was declared on all kinds of game animals. Those three years fully vindicated the friends of game protection, for by 1891, when hunting was again permitted, the moose, caribou and deer had reappeared in the forests in encouraging numbers.

An economic sequel to the above, which should interest our Wisconsin and Michigan friends, is that the amount paid to the province of New Brunswick, for hunting license fees, increased between 1897 and 1911 from \$1,993 to \$43,066, according to official records. And for several years the fee for a non-resident's hunting license has been \$50 for the calendar year, which amount restricts the hunter to one bull moose, one caribou and two deer.

Census of Big Mammals

This magazine has several times referred to various economic aspects of the wild mammals of North America, with especial regard to their actual or potential value. A recent number of *American Forestry* has a definite consideration of this subject, which seems well worth quoting in full. "As a first step in determining the requirements of wild life in the National Forests, an effort has been made to secure reliable data on the number and species of game animals," says the editor of the magazine; and proceeds as follows:

Estimates so far submitted on the important big-game species indicate that the National Forests contain nearly half a million deer of several species, reported as existing in 86 forests. Elk formerly occurred in nearly every State, but the larger number are now confined to National Forests and National Parks in fourteen States. Of the total of 72,000 elk reported in existence in the United States several years ago, a majority find range on the National Forests some time during the year. The once large herds of antelope found in large Western States have been almost annihilated, but the 2,400 head now existing on the National Forests in ten States constitute the nucleus of future herds. A total of 13,000 mountain sheep in eleven States and 10,000 mountain goats in four States are reported. A few representatives of many other big-game species are still found in widely scattered sections of the National Forests, while the fur-bearing animals under protection show a remarkable increase in most localities.

THE NEW BOOKS

World Topics

Industrial America in the World War. By Grosvenor Clarkson. Houghton Mifflin Company. 573 pp. Ill.

The story of American industry in its support of the Great War as told by Mr. Clarkson is not a mere summary of routine information for the sake of reminding us of things that everybody knew in 1918. "The strategy behind the line," as the author characterizes the things he has undertaken to present in this volume of almost 600 compact pages, was not less essential to victory than the movements of military leaders, and was even less familiar to the public. Furthermore, the industrial strategy in its human phases was at times as exciting as the plot of any dramatist or novelist who ever held the reader in suspense. There was a moment when the war seemed to be turning upon shipbuilding; but ships depended upon steel production. On the fighting lines, the war depended upon sheer mass of munitions; and this again depended upon steel and upon ships. It also depended upon copper and railroads, high explosives, and many other things.

Mr. Clarkson, who is himself the son and grandson of men who were State builders in the West, and who were gifted as journalists and publicists, has given us in this book of monumental importance a narrative of the industries of the United States in their war service that only a handful of men ever knew anything about excepting as to particular chapters. Mr. Clarkson had served first as secretary and afterwards as director of the Council of National Defense at Washington, and his own office had been a clearing house of information as well as of activities during the entire war period. Knowledge thus obtained gave him exceptional qualifications.

But such a work as he has performed could not be written as incidental to some other occupation; and Mr. Clarkson has given two or three years of complete concentration to the perfecting of his body of information and to the writing of this volume. He has had access to every possible source of information, official and otherwise. Most men attempting to write such a history would have been overwhelmed and lost in the mazes of technical material; but Mr. Clarkson satisfies the exacting

tests of specialists who examine chapters in their own field, while making a book that any intelligent citizen may read with interest and profit. Everyone concerned in days to come about national defense must study this work as a standard, for its accurate survey of American experience during 1917 and 1918.

International Society. By Philip Marshall Brown. Macmillan. 173 pp.

Dr. Brown, who is Professor of International Law at Princeton, has had twelve years of experience in our diplomatic service, with good opportunities for studying international problems. In this little book, after defining man's national and international relations, Dr. Brown concludes that the great problem of international society at the present moment is "to discover the greatest common denominator that will enable men to interpret their varying interests and aims and that will enable them to come together on a plane of genuine brotherhood." In religion, which he defines as "the personal adjustment of man to the universe," the author finds this common denominator.

When There Is No Peace. By the Author of "The Pomp of Power." George H. Doran Company. 319 pp.

After this book, like its predecessor, "The Pomp of Power," had been published it was revealed that the author of both volumes is a Canadian, Mr. Laurance Lyon, formerly a member of the British Parliament for Hastings. Since 1905, Mr. Lyon has resided in Paris and London. From 1916 to 1919 he was proprietor of the London *Outlook*. The present volume is journalistic in character, describing recent political events in Europe. The author is well-informed on French policy, and his knowledge of Spanish affairs is disclosed in the chapters on "Spain in War Time" and "Spain in Nineteen Nineteen."

Economic Imperialism and International Relations During the Last Fifty Years. By Professor Achille Vialatte. Macmillan. 180 pp.

Lectures delivered two years ago under the auspices of the Institute of Politics at Williamsburg. Among other topics they deal with the entrance of the United States into world commerce, tariff reform in England and the export movement of capital, competition of the Powers in the Far East and in Latin America, the growth of international unions and trade understandings, the crisis of 1914, the economic solidarity during the war and the situation of the economic world after the war. The author maintains that America must assume an active part in the recuperation of Europe.



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CLARKSON

History and Biography

America of Yesterday: As Reflected in the Journal of John Davis Long. Edited by Lawrence Shaw Mayo. Boston: The Atlantic Monthly Press. 250 pp.

We are told that diaries are out of fashion, that men and women in this busy age have no time to give to them. The late John Davis Long, former Governor of Massachusetts and Secretary of the Navy in the McKinley and Roosevelt administrations, was old-fashioned enough to keep a journal from 1848 until 1915, a period of more than sixty-seven years. This journal, too, was distinctive, both in the subject-matter and in style. Outside of a relatively small circle of personal friends, those Americans who knew Mr. Long as a public man had only the slightest acquaintance with the man's inner being and powers of expression. Eight years after the close of his long life the journal to which he so freely confided is given to the public. Its author's comments on the Spanish-American War, the Sampson-Schley controversy, and the national politics of a quarter-century ago, while interesting and well-considered, are perhaps of less value to the general reader of to-day than the earlier chapters which deal with the simple and typical New England boyhood of the mid-Nineteenth Century. "America of Yesterday" is clearly reflected in this Maine boy's account of his school days and college life at Harvard.

Things Remembered. By Arthur Sherburne Hardy. Houghton Mifflin Company. 311 pp. Ill.

Mr. Hardy's career has never followed a beaten track. After an education at West Point and two years of Army service he became a professor of mathematics at Dartmouth. A generation ago he had become famous as the author of novels, including "But Yet a Woman." Leaving his Dartmouth professorship, he was for two years editor of the *Cosopolitan Magazine* and then entered diplomacy, becoming successively United States Minister to Persia, Greece, Switzerland and Spain. This book of recollections contains many anecdotes and intimate views of well-known personalities. Needless to say, it has the distinction of literary style which readers of Mr. Hardy's earlier works have come to associate with everything that comes from his pen.

The Bethlehem Bach Choir: a History and a Critical Compendium. By Raymond Walters. Houghton Mifflin Company. 343 pp. Ill.

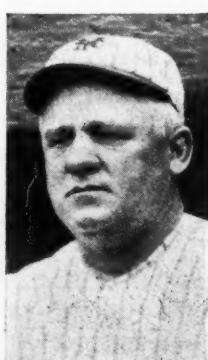
Bethlehem: Long Ago and To-day. By Raymond Walters. Bethlehem, Pa.: Carey Printing Company, Inc. 152 pp. Ill.

Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, is distinguished for something besides the manufacture of steel. From Colonial times the cultural influences of that place have been recognized far and wide. There is a continuous record of the musical activities of the Moravians at Bethlehem from 1741 to the present day. The best-known development of these activities is the famous Bach Choir, whose spring festivals have long been notable events in American

music. Mr. Walters gives an interesting account of this great choir in its religious, musical and community aspects. In a smaller book the same author, who is Dean of Swarthmore College, sketches the growth of Bethlehem and the worldwide fame that has come to the community since the organization of the great steel company, of which Mr. Charles M. Schwab has long been the guiding genius.

My Thirty Years in Baseball. By John J. McGraw. Boni and Liveright. 265 pp. Ill.

This is baseball up to date by the man who has been called the Napoleon of the national game.



JOHN J. McGRAW

We learn from these pages what Mr. McGraw thinks of the baseball of to-day as compared with that of a quarter-century ago, also his opinion about modern baseball salaries and their effect on the players. Along with the expression of the author's personal opinions on the hundred topics that profoundly interest the baseball "fan," we have in this book many sidelights on his relations with well-known players, and a few unconscious thumbnail character sketches of the players themselves.

An unexampled collection of baseball portraits has gone into the illustration of the book. Altogether, the volume is made up of material of most vital interest to all who care anything about baseball as a sport.

Mark Twain's Speeches. With an Introduction by Albert Bigelow Paine and an Appreciation by William Dean Howells. Harper & Brothers. 396 pp.

All of Mark Twain's most famous speeches, delivered on a great variety of occasions, will be found in this volume, gathered for publication by his biographer, Albert Bigelow Paine. After a brief appreciation by the late William Dean Howells comes an introduction in which Mr. Paine makes known several interesting facts in Mark Twain's experience as a speaker—for example, that he wrote out, learned by heart, and practiced his speeches, continuing this habit until later life in the case of important occasions.

The Cambridge History of British Foreign Policy; 1783-1919. Edited by Sir A. W. Ward and G. P. Gooch. Volume II: 1815-1866. Macmillan. 688 pp.

In the preparation of this great work the editors have had the coöperation of some of the most eminent British scholars in the fields of history and politics. The first volume covered the years

1783-1815. The second volume deals with the period from 1815 to 1866, and the third will bring the story down to the close of the Great War. In the second volume there are two chapters relating especially to the United States—"United States and Colonial Developments, 1815-1846," including "The Slave Trade and Frontier Diffi-

culties," "The Webster-Ashburton Treaty," "Texas and Oregon," "The Pacific Islands," and "Central America: The Clayton-Bulwer Treaty," and "Anglo-American Relations During the Civil War, 1860-1865." Both chapters are contributed by Dr. A. P. Newton, Rhodes Professor of Imperial History in the University of London.

Sociology: Economics

Parliamentary Law. By General Henry M. Robert. The Century Company. 588 pp.

For more than a generation "Robert's Rules of Order" has been the standard authority as a guide to correct parliamentary practice in deliberative assemblies throughout the country. The author, who was for many years a distinguished engineer officer of the United States Army, died recently at the age of eighty-six. Shortly before his death he had completed the manuscript of "Parliamentary Law," a far more extended treatise than either of his earlier works, designed to meet the wants of all who wish to become familiar with the subject. This book discusses in detail the method of transacting business in assemblies, the uses of the various motions, the method of conducting elections, the duties of members and officers, discipline, model by-laws, forms and defini-



GEN. H. M. ROBERT

tions of parliamentary terms. One of the most interesting features of General Robert's new book is the section of nearly 150 pages which includes several hundred questions and answers selected from the author's extensive correspondence. For the most part these questions were asked by officers of societies or teachers of parliamentary law, and they deal with difficulties that are constantly occurring in clubs and societies. Officers of women's clubs and like organizations will find this book indispensable in considering questions of parliamentary procedure as they frequently recur.

The Stabilization of Business. By Wesley C. Mitchell, Irving Fisher, Frank Haigh Dixon, John R. Commons, Lionel D. Edie, Edwin R. A. Seligman, John B. Andrews, Walter Dill Scott, Henry S. Dennison. Macmillan. 400 pp.

Representative American economists coöperate in this book in discussing from various points of view the control and stabilization of business cycles. Although each contributor is responsible only for the views expressed in his own chapter, there is a remarkable community of thought throughout the volume. The book marks a distinct advance in thought on business cycles, from the stage of analysis of the causes and characteristics of such cycles to the stage of planning definite policies for their control.

Travel and Description

Climbs on Alpine Peaks. By Abate Achille Ratti (now Pope Pius XI). Translated by J. E. C. Eaton. Houghton Mifflin Company. 139 pp. Ill.

Long before he came to the Vatican Pope Pius XI was a mountaineer of expert skill and distinction. The *Journal* of the Italian Alpine Club was enriched by several articles from the pen of Father Ratti, as he was then known. The present volume, translated from the Italian, contains an account of his ascent of Monte Rosa from Macugnaga, his ascent of the Matterhorn direct from Zermatt and of Mont Blanc, via the Rocher, with descent by the Dôme Glacier. Scientists have expressed admiration for the accuracy of the descriptions in these accounts of mountain adventures, and lovers of the Alps cannot fail to respond to their literary charm. The crossing of Monte Rosa has always been regarded by mountaineers as among the most difficult of Alpine feats. Monsignor Ratti's energy and endurance were fully equal to it.

The Southern Sierras of California. By Charles Francis Saunders. Houghton Mifflin Company. 367 pp. Ill.

We are thankful to Mr. Saunders for this excellent description of the Southern California mountains which, after all, have been somewhat neglected by writers for the peaks of the Sierra Nevada to the northward. There is not a little human history associated with the Southern mountains—more than one might suppose. The Franciscan Fathers who founded the chain of California missions, the great Spanish and Mexican ranch owners of the cattle period, the American adventurers and gold seekers (preceding even Marshall's strike in the North), the later stage coach line from Los Angeles to San Francisco, and other developments in California history were closely associated with the Southern Sierras described by Mr. Saunders. All of the illustrations in the book are from photographs made by the author.

Ambling through Acadia. By Charles Hanson Towne. With Drawings by W. Emerton Heitland. The Century Company. 250 pp. Ill.

This is Mr. Towne's account of what he saw in Evangeline's country during apple-blossom season, the latter part of May. In company with the artist, William Heitland, he went to Yarmouth by boat and thence journeyed by slow trains and bicycles and motors through the quaint villages of Acadia. Mr. Heitland's sketches are not less appealing than Mr. Towne's descriptive text.

Old Indian Trails. By Walter McClintock. Houghton Mifflin Company. 336 pp. Ill.

Many years ago Mr. McClintock was adopted as a member of the Blackfoot tribe of Indians, and for a long period of time kept records of tribal customs, legends and religious beliefs, accounts of hunting trips and descriptions of the flora and wild life of the Blackfoot country. This book has been prepared from the original notes of these matters which he made. The Indians of this tribe now till the soil and live in houses like white men. Mr. McClintock's book served to preserve the record of a life and environment that have virtually vanished from the land.

The Spell of the Rhine. By Frank Roy Fraprie. Boston: Page Company. 393 pp. Ill.

In his descriptive chapters on the Rhine country Mr. Fraprie chooses to dwell chiefly on the natural

beauties of the region, ignoring for the time those blemishes which come from rapid material growth. The "Spell of the Rhine" is the charm of history and tradition, in a land made beautiful by nature.

London in Seven Days: a Guide for People in a Hurry. By Arthur Milton. Robert M. McBride & Company. 121 pp. With maps.

The author of this interesting guide to London had a convenient uncle and aunt for whom he was requested to prepare an itinerary of the sights of London for each day of the week. This service on behalf of his worthy relatives resulted in a week's program of London sightseeing which may be utilized to good purpose by many a traveler who is compelled to economize his time and may be appalled by the mass of detail which confronts him in the pages of many books about London. Not only does Mr. Milton tell the traveler what to see, but his book is full of practical suggestions about eating-places and shops for which "people in a hurry will be grateful."

Paris in Seven Days: a Guide for People in a Hurry. By Arthur Milton. Robert M. McBride & Company. 117 pp. With maps.

This is a companion book to "London in Seven Days." One gathers that the author is as much at home in the French capital as in the English metropolis. Here, as in the "London," the author economizes to the utmost his own and his reader's time and effort.

Books of Reference

Wer ist's? VIII Ausgabe. Compiled and edited by Herrmann A. L. Degener. Leipzig: H. A. Ludwig Degener. 1792 pp.

The eighth edition of the German "Who's Who," embodying the first revision of that work since 1913, has recently appeared in Germany. In editorial plan, as well as in the general appearance of the printed volume, "Wer ist's?" is almost identical with its English and American contemporaries. It contains biographical sketches of 20,000 living Germans, together with a list of world-famous pseudonyms, facts concerning European noble families and other information not easily found elsewhere.

Autocamping. By F. E. Brimmer. Cincinnati: Stewart Kidd Company. 253 pp. Ill.

Mr. Brimmer answers scores of questions that are bound to arise in every family which adventures autocamping for the first time. He gives useful and practical information based on abundant experience.

The Art of Phrasing in English Composition. By Paul T. Carew. Boston: The Stratford Company. 136 pp.

A clear and helpful discussion of the English phrase by an experienced instructor. Many examples are used from modern novels, essays, maga-

zines and newspapers. The book was originally intended to be a brief supplemental course for advanced students and teachers of English, but it has been adapted to the needs of high schools.

A Desk-Book of Idioms and Idiomatic Phrases in English Speech and Literature. By Frank H. Vizetelly and Leander J. De Bekker. Funk & Wagnalls Company. 498 pp.

A treatise explaining more than 11,000 phrases and expressions in vernacular English, many of which are not discussed in the dictionaries. The editors have gone far afield in their search for information. They have made a special effort to gather phrases of political meaning and to give full quotation of their use.

The Health of the Runabout Child. By William Palmer Lucas. Macmillan. 229 pp. Ill.

An experienced physician's suggestions to parents about the care of their children, grouped under these chapter headings: "Great Expectations"; "Your Realization of These Great Expectations"; "How He Can Help"; "How the Public Can Help"; "Things that Usually Happen"; "Things We Don't Want to Have Happen"; "The Food He Needs"; "Play"; "His Habits and His Happiness"; "Mental Snags."